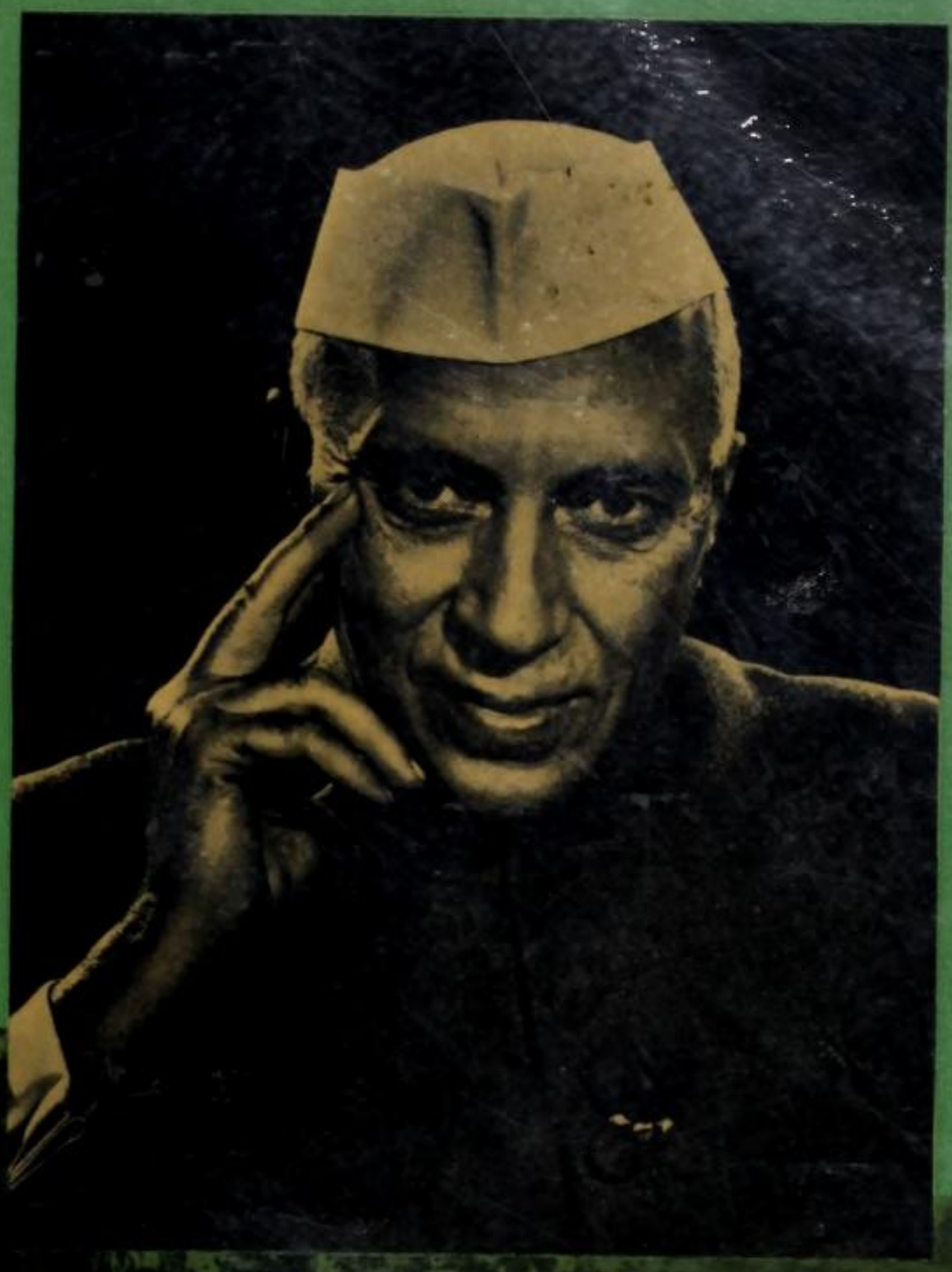
MICHAEL EDWARDES

Nehru

a pictorial biography



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NEHRU

a pictorial biography

MICHAEL EDWARDES

Few world figures are more constantly in the news than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and few carry so great a personal responsibility for the destiny of so many million human beings. The life of this great statesman, his childhood in India, his early struggles for the independence of his country, and his achievements as its Prime Minister are interestingly and informatively presented in this book. Nehru's biography is part of India's history; his life and that of his father Motilal, and indeed the lives of his whole family, are inextricably wound in the affairs of the nationalist movement. The author describes Nehru's association with the Congress party while it was still in its infancy, his friendship with Gandhi and other nationalist leaders, his periods of contemplation and study during his frequent imprisonments for civil disobedience, and the skill with which he steered his party on a course midway between the mystical idealism of Gandhi's followers and the pressure of revolutionary extremists. Not all of Nehru's interests are political. The author has had great assistance from Nehru's family, particularly his distinguished sister Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, in presenting a full and complete portrait of Nehru the man as well as the statesman. Many of the illustrations, printed here for the first time, have been provided by Nehru and his family.

Michael Edwardes, a historian as well as a biographer, is the author of many successful books, among which are *A History of India* and *Asia in the European Age*.

136 illustrations in photogravure

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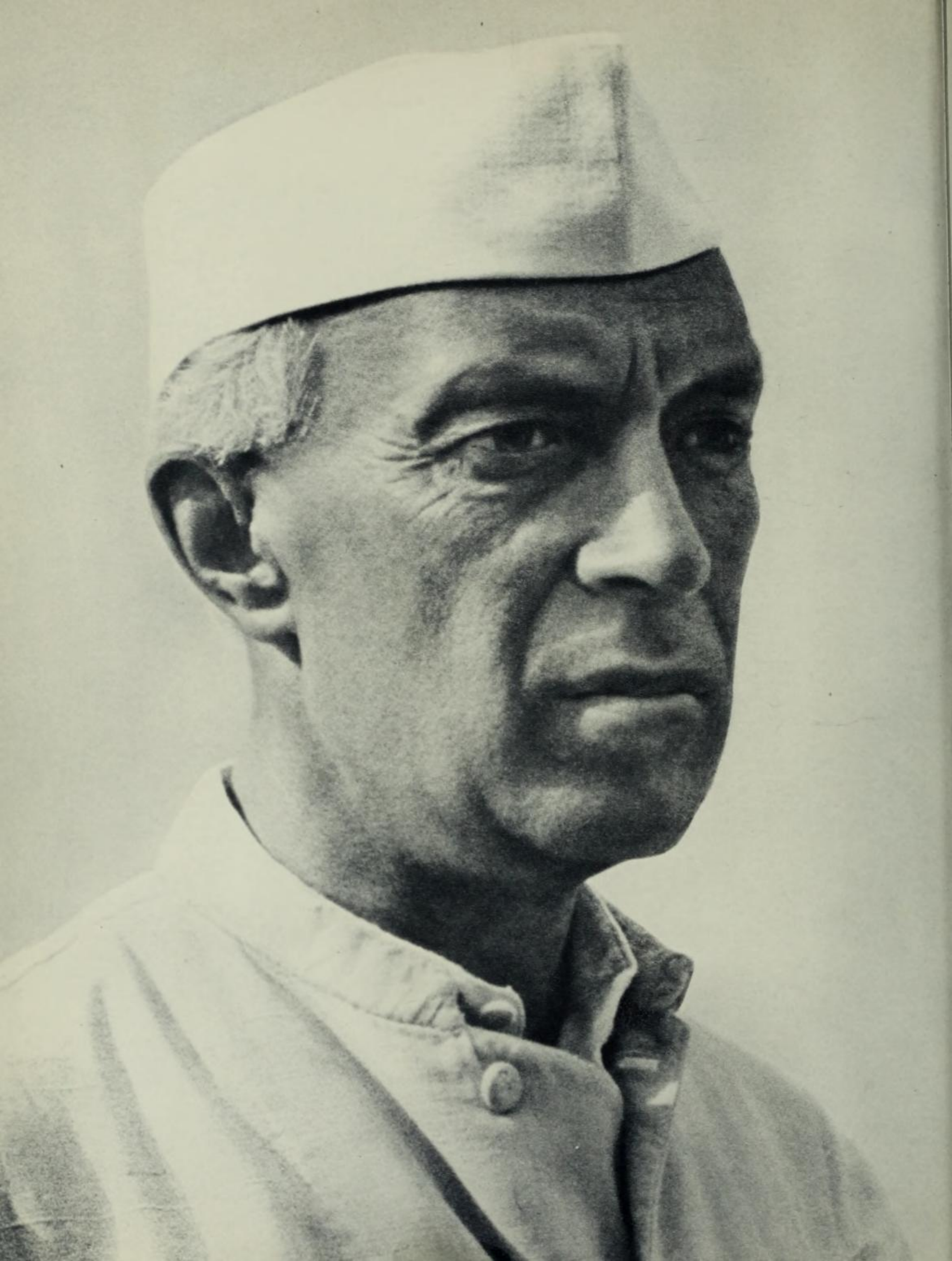

NEHRU

a pictorial biography

BY MICHAEL EDWARDES

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The vale of Kashmir: cradle of the Nehrus

THE NEHRU FAMILY CAME ORIGINALLY FROM KASHMIR, that land of green valleys ringed with snow-capped mountains which has become one of the trouble-spots of the mid-twentieth century. Most Kashmiri Hindus are of high caste, and the Nehrus were Brahmins honoured with the title of Pandit, or 'man of learning'.

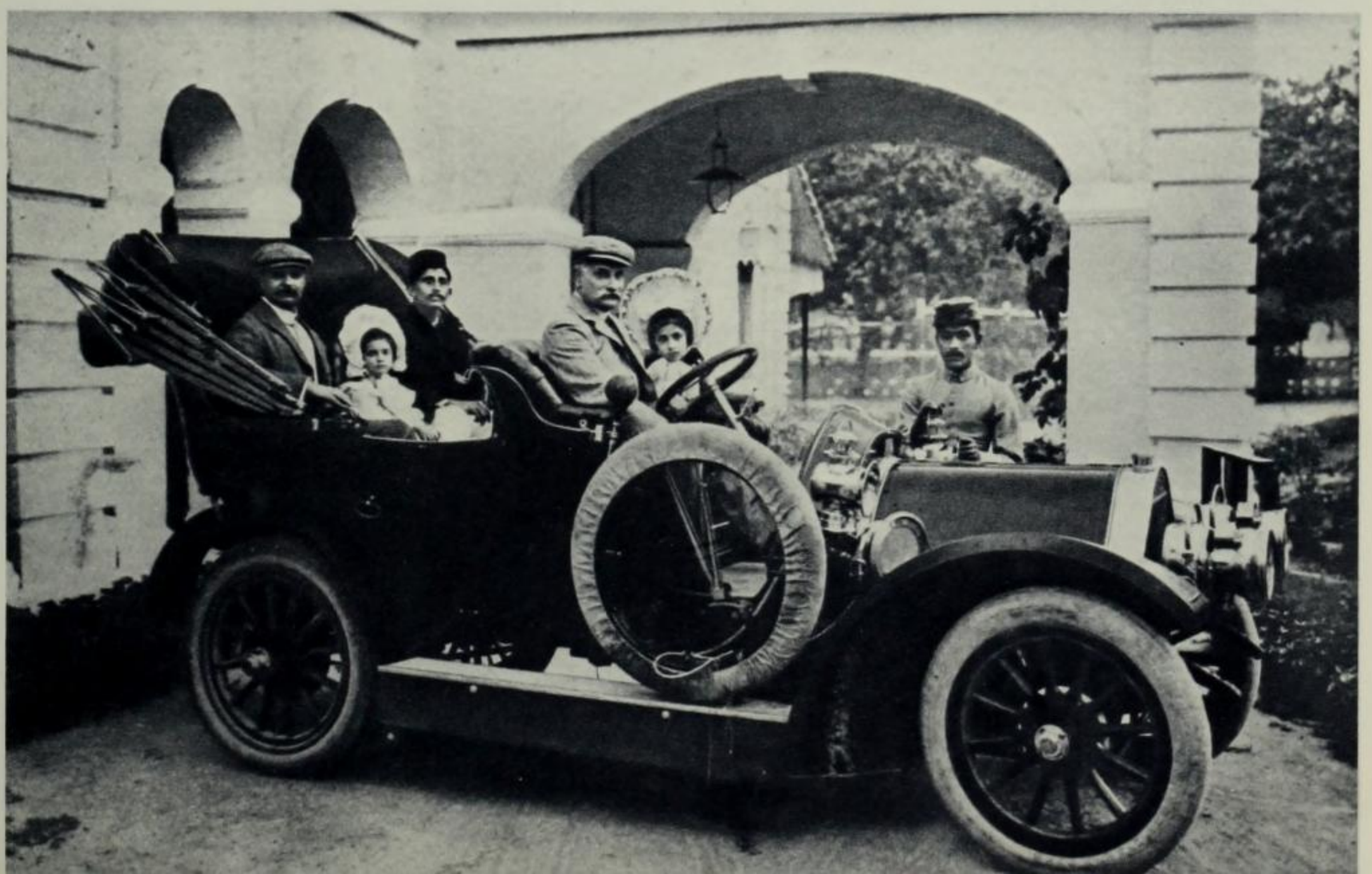
Jawaharlal's father, Motilal, was twenty-eight years old and a successful lawyer in Allahabad when his son was born on 14 November, 1889. The household was typically Hindu, with sisters, cousins, nieces and nephews all living together under one roof; but as Motilal was highly Westernized in outlook, his son was brought up within this traditional structure like a little English boy, dressed in sailor suits and Scottish kilts.

Jawaharlal as a boy,
with his father and mother

Jawaharlal was educated at home by a series of tutors, only one of whom—a young man by the name of Brooks—had a lasting influence on the child. From him, Jawaharlal learned to love books. He read Dickens and Kipling with as much pleasure as *The Prisoner of Zenda, Sherlock Holmes* and H. G. Wells, and was deeply impressed by *Trilby* and *Peter Ibbetson.* Through Brooks, too, the boy developed a fascination for science which remains with him to this day. One other habit lingers from these early years—although Nehru knows some Sanskrit and speaks fluent Hindi, he still thinks in English.

An atmosphere of England:
the future nationalist in a sailor suit

The first motor car in Allahabad.
Motilal at the wheel



The home of the Nehrus: the 'House of Joy' at Allahabad

The young Nehru

When Jawaharlal was ten years old, the family moved to a larger home with spacious grounds and an indoor swimming pool. Poetically, it was called Anand Bhawan, or 'House of Joy'. Here, the boy came to know many of the Westernized intellectuals who flocked to the house to discuss, among other topics, the arrogance of their British masters. In those days, however, he saw little of his father, knowing him only as someone to admire and respect from a distance, a man with a quick and fearful temper. Left very much to his own devices, isolated in a world of elders, Jawaharlal began to develop that sense of self-sufficiency which has sustained him ever since, and which has been both a strength and a weakness during his political lifetime.

left Jawaharlal after receiving
the Brahminical thread, 1902

below Jawaharlal aged 14, with his sister Swarup,
now Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

above Jawaharlal and his family

As a member of the
Harrow school cadets

At the age of sixteen, accompanied by his father, mother and his four-year-old sister, Swarup—later to be famous in her own right as Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit—he set off from India for a public school in rich, stable, Edwardian England. He arrived at Harrow for the Christmas term of 1905. There is, perhaps, a certain irony in the fact that the first Prime Minister of independent India should have emerged from such a stronghold of the British upper classes.

During intervals between playing the cricket and football that are obligatory for every public-schoolboy, Jawaharlal managed to read newspapers, pursue his interest in science, and begin to develop some political opinions. Japan's victory in 1905 over Russia, a Western power, had put him 'in high good

At Harrow

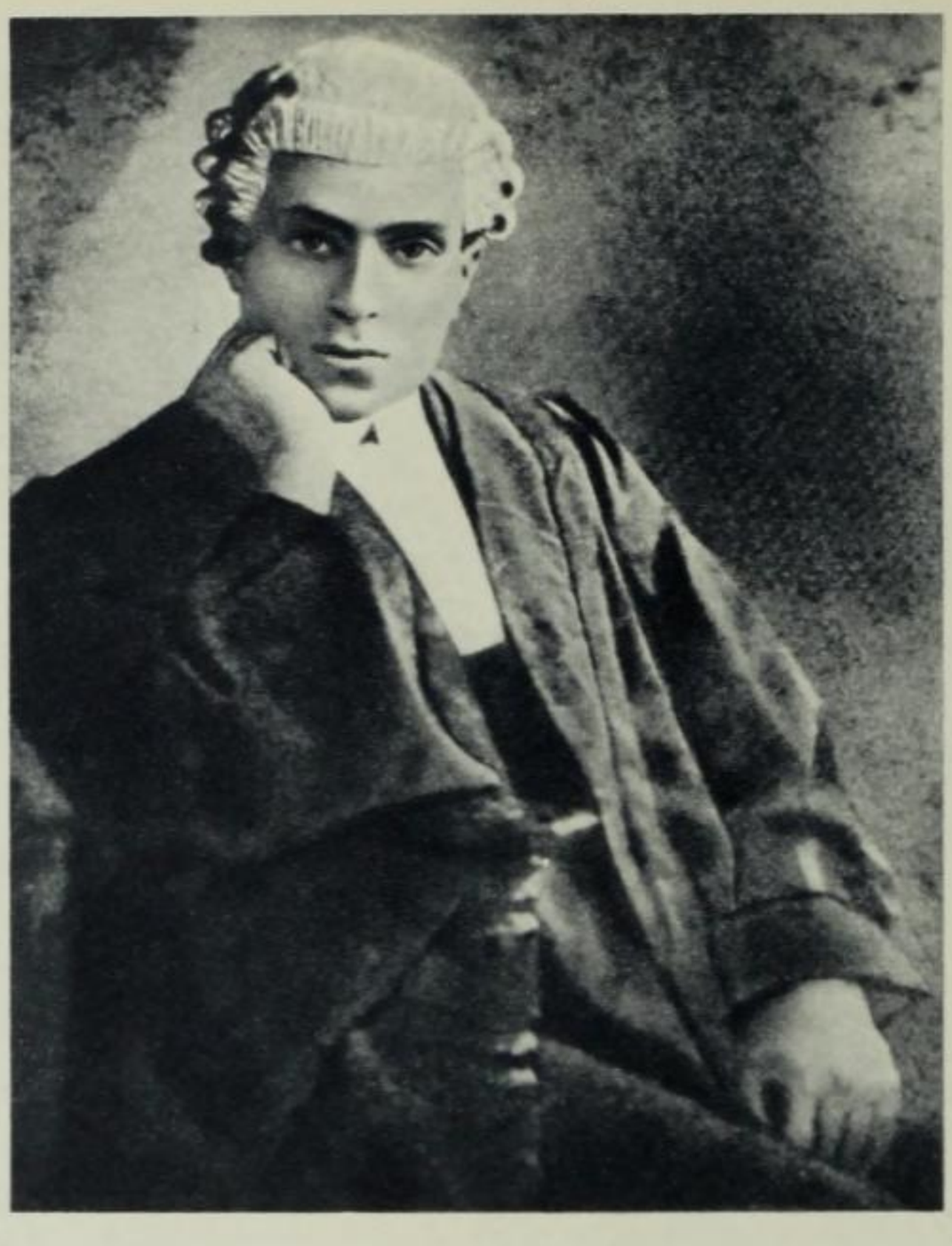
Jawaharlal with the boys of
Dr Wood's House, Harrow 1907

Father and son

humour'; he was fascinated to read Trevelyan's life of Garibaldi; and he followed the news from India avidly. October 1907 saw him move to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had chosen to study chemistry, geology and botany. With a large allowance from his father, his life was easy, comfortable and hedonistic. The cloistered serenity of university life agreed with him, and he continued his reading, became acquainted with the work of fashionable thinkers, heard visiting Indian speakers, and was particularly influenced by Meredith Townsend's *Asia and Europe*. But his political ideas remained shadowy and his Indian nationalism stemmed from emotion rather than conviction.

When Jawaharlal left Cambridge in 1910, with a second-class honours degree in the Natural Sciences Tripos, it was decided he should follow his

'A gradual widening of the intellectual horizon'. Trinity College, Cambridge ▶



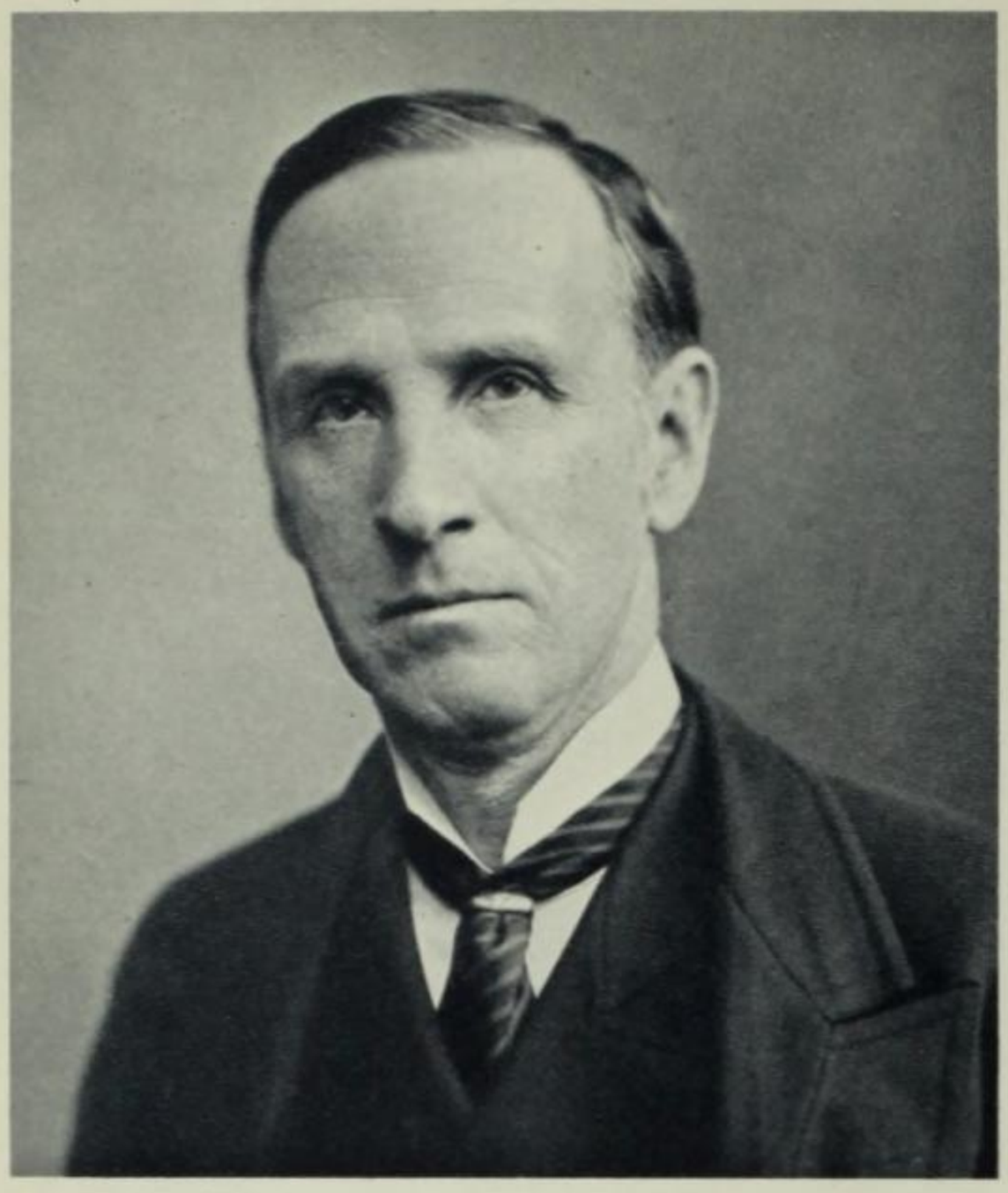
'I got through the Bar examinations . . . with neither glory nor ignominy'.
Nehru the barrister, 1912

The Inner Temple. King's Bench Walk

The other India

father's profession and, for the next two years, he studied for his examinations in London, ate his obligatory dinners in the Inner Temple, tried to 'ape . . . the prosperous but somewhat empty-headed Englishman who is called a "man about town"', and attended meetings of the Fabians. Now, however, as he really began to grow up, he found himself torn between two worlds. 'I have become,' he said many years later, 'a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere.'

At last, in 1912—now a fully-fledged lawyer—he prepared to return to India. He had been away for seven years, discovering England. Now he was to return home on a new voyage of discovery—the discovery of India.



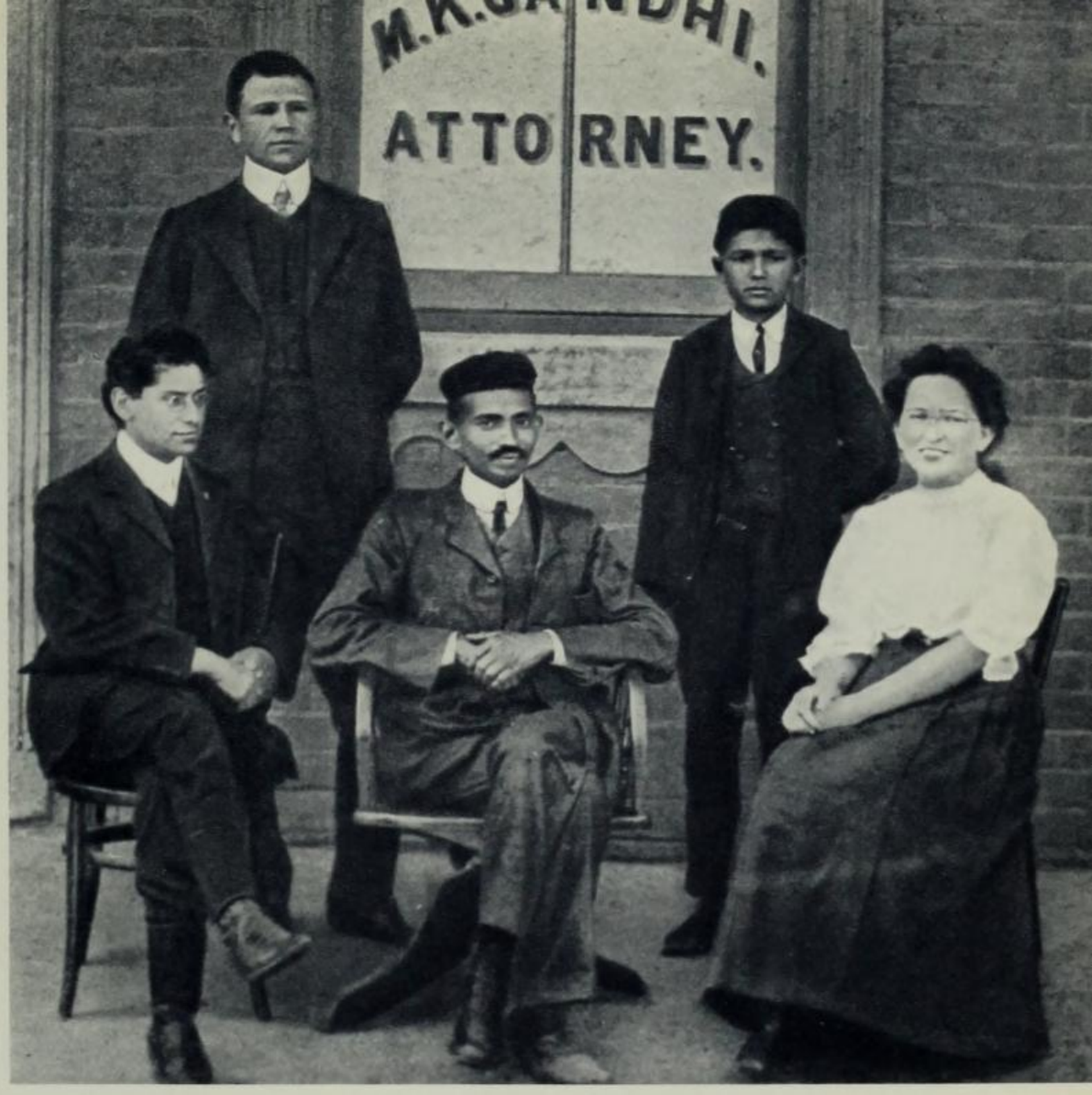
Viscount Morley, Secretary of State for India

Earl of Minto. Viceroy and governor-general, 1905–1910

The India Jawaharlal returned to was now quiet. When he had left for England terrorists had been active in Bengal, and nationalism was on the march. But a series of reforms—known as the Morley-Minto reforms after the secretary of state, Lord Morley, and the viceroy of India, Lord Minto—had made small concessions to nationalist demands by allowing Indian majorities in the provincial legislatures (though these had no real power) and one Indian member to enter the government, the Viceroy's Executive Council as it was known. Though innocuous enough on these points, the reforms also created the principle of separate electorates for Muslims and Hindus, thus helping further to divide the two communities—an act which, nearly forty years later, was to lead to the partition of India.

Return to India

Shortly after his return to India, Nehru attended a session of the Indian National Congress at Bankipur, in December 1912. There he found the delegates dressed in morning coats and striped trousers; he himself was wearing a lounge suit. It was 'very much an English-knowing upper-class affair', and more like a decorous tea-party than a political meeting. Nehru was depressed at the staid drabness of the whole affair—where was the sense of excitement,

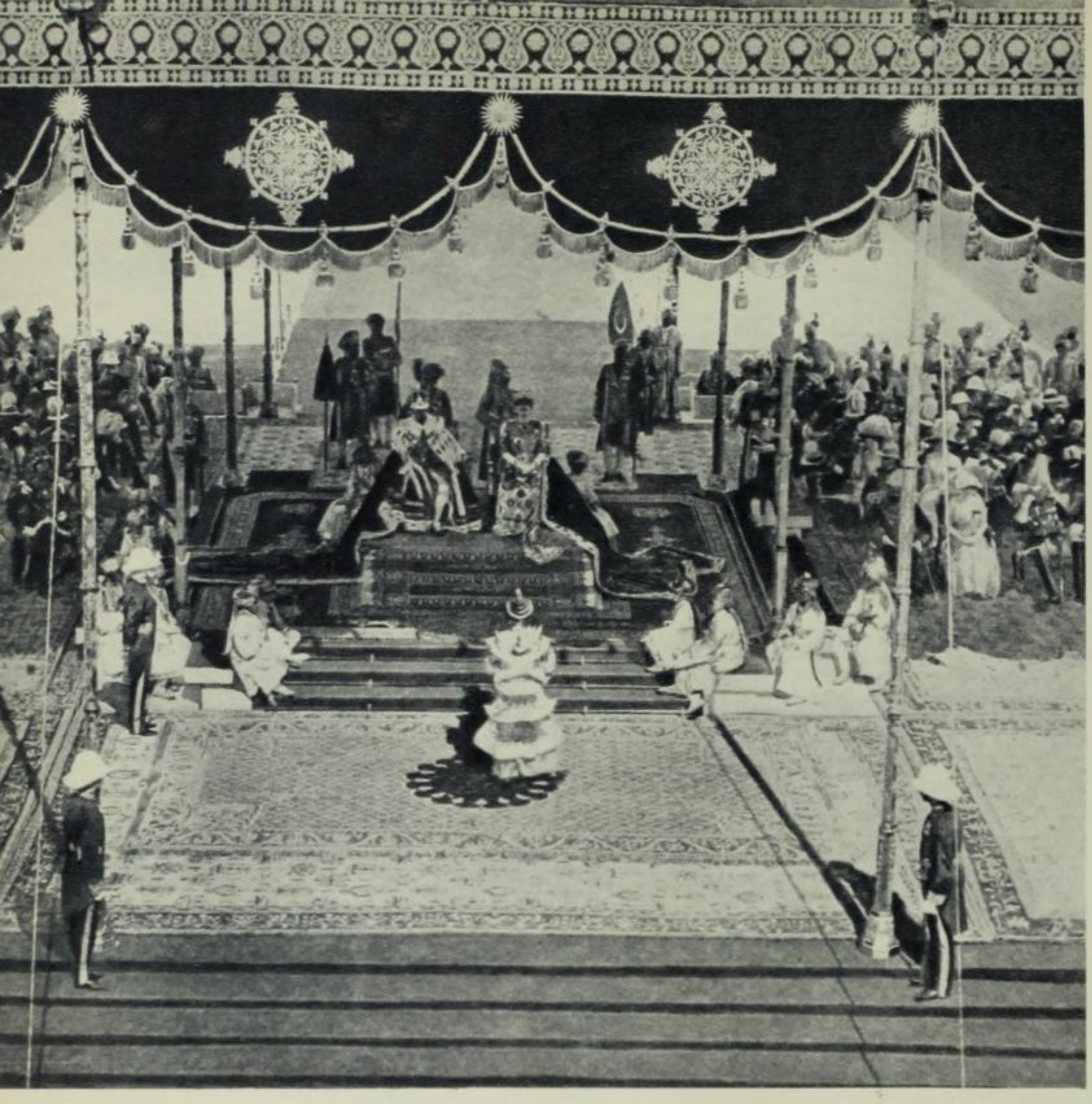


M. K. Gandhi, attorney.
Johannesburg, 1913

of dedication to a great cause? Above all, where was the willingness to sacrifice? Not there at Bankipur amongst the moderate nationalists, who seemed to behave more like a loyal Opposition than a freedom movement.

Nehru was also depressed by the passionless world of the law, for the routine of litigation did not stimulate his mind. Nor was the conversation of his colleagues able to move beyond the barriers set by their profession. At twenty-four, Nehru felt he had reached a dead end. His life at the Bar constricted him politically, and even the emotional involvement he had felt in Indian affairs while he was far away in England had evaporated. Congress was just a polite talking-shop and there seemed to be no alternative.

It was in November 1913 that Nehru first heard of Gandhi, then leading some 2,500 Indian labourers in a march from Natal to the Transvaal in a protest against the South African government. Non-violent resistance, as practised by Gandhi in South Africa, appealed to Nehru. Here, perhaps, was a new sort of positive action. He felt inspired by the thought 'that a community of poor down-trodden, ignorant workers and a group of petty merchants', far from their own country, should take up this courageous attitude.



The Delhi Durbar, 1911.
The first, and last, occasion upon which a ruling British monarch visited the Indian Empire

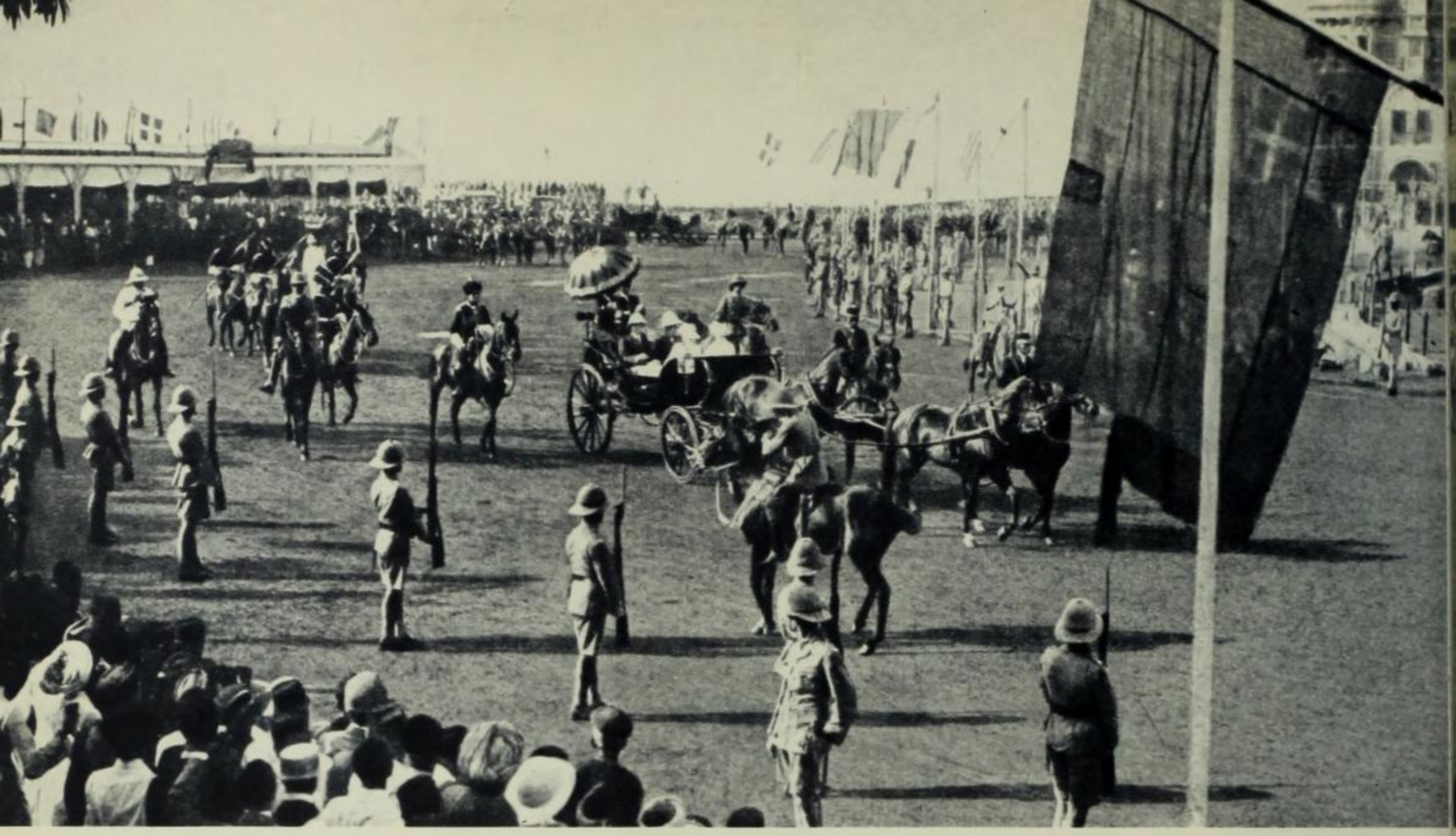
In 1914, war broke upon the world and in India there was an outbreak of loyal enthusiasm not only restricted to the princes, soldiers and officials whose interests were those of the British. Moderate nationalist opinion expected the war to last only a few months, and hoped that Indian help in achieving a British victory would bring its reward in a larger measure of self-government. A truce from political action followed the outbreak of war. Recruits flocked to the Indian Army and large contributions poured into the Red Cross and for war loans. In London, Gandhi pledged his support, and was awarded the Kaisar-i-Hind medal, in the Birthday Honours of June 1915, for 'services to the British Empire'. As the war dragged on, however, enthusiasm declined. By 1916, recruiting under pressure had begun, and the middle classes in India found themselves virtually forced to contribute to loans. Prices began to rise. Rebellion in Ireland encouraged Indian extremists in their belief that India, too, could be freed only by violence.

Indian cavalry in France, 1916

Until 1916, Nehru had stood aloof from nationalist activity. He was a patriot but not a vocal one. It was not until 1915 that he had been persuaded to speak from a political platform. In December 1916, Congress and the Muslim League (which had been founded in 1906 with British encouragement) concluded the Lucknow Pact, in which both parties made concessions in the interests of nationalist unity. Jawaharlal welcomed this, for he had always rejected religious differences in politics. At the Lucknow congress, too, Nehru first met Gandhi.

But it was the rebellion in Ireland that affected him most at this time for, though it was doomed to failure, 'was that not true courage that mocked at almost certain failure and proclaimed to the world that no physical might could crush the invincible spirit of a nation?'

Events in India, however, now began to focus outside attention on nationalist agitation. In 1917, Gandhi began his first non-violent campaign against the government—and won. In 1918, another followed with equal success. The field was small but it proved that the new technique would work in India as well as in South Africa. The government in England, aware of the threat in India and conscious of the effect a rebellion might have on the course of the



A new viceroy arrives, 1916. Lord Chelmsford, 1916–1921, at Bombay

war, began to think of granting further reforms. Proposals for these—known as the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms—were published in July 1918, but they were denounced as inadequate by both Congress and the Muslim League.

The situation was made worse by the publication, soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford report, of the findings of a committee which had been set up under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Rowlatt to investigate sedition and conspiracy against the government of India. Its recommendations called for all the apparatus of a police state, with summary courts and powers of internment. These proposals were accepted by the viceroy. It seemed to Indians that while one hand was offering reforms (albeit inadequate ones) the other brandished a big stick. The Rowlatt Bills even included the penalty of imprisonment for being in possession of a 'seditious document' with the 'intention to publish and circulate it'. The implementation of these provisions in February 1919 brought Gandhi to the van of the freedom movement. 'Once the Bills become law,' he declared, 'we must offer *satyagraha* (non-violence)'. Before fulfilling this threat, Gandhi appealed to the viceroy to withdraw the new measures. Lord Chelmsford refused, and Gandhi set about organizing a body of men to defy the government openly and to court imprisonment.

Brigadier-general R. E. H. Dyer. Responsible for the massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, 1919

Nehru rejoiced in the prospect of the campaign—'a way out of the tangle, a method of action which was straight and open and possibly effective'. His father was not quite so sure, and asked Gandhi to come to Allahabad. There, the Mahatma advised Jawaharlal not to act in such a way as to get himself arrested.

Satyagraha day, 6 April 1919, was a resounding success. Business stopped, shops closed, the streets were full of Muslims and Hindus demonstrating their solidarity against the government. The rulers, shocked by the strength of the opposition, turned to repression. The army and the police fired on unarmed demonstrators. Gandhi was arrested on 8 April, and violence took the place of *satyagraha*. Rioting, attacks on Europeans, and fighting between Hindus and Muslims followed until, on 15 April, in Amritsar, one General Dyer fired upon an unarmed crowd in an enclosed area known as the Jallianwala Bagh, killing 379 and wounding twelve hundred. Martial law was imposed and Indians were forcibly humiliated. Though Dyer was removed from his command and an enquiry instituted, his actions could not be retrieved. The British Empire in India died in the Jallianwala Bagh, for there was now no possibility of compromise, no trust in words, no belief in the government's sincerity.

Amritsar converted Motilal to the beliefs of his son and of Gandhi. It also marked the beginning of Gandhi's decisive role in the freedom movement which was to carry Jawaharlal to office as first Prime Minister of independent India.

Jawaharlal and Kamala
after their marriage
in 1916

A change, too, had taken place in Jawaharlal's personal life. In March 1916, he had married a young girl of seventeen, Kamala. This was no love match, but an arranged marriage. Kamala was unsophisticated and without formal education. Her character was very similar to that of her husband, proud, and quick to like and dislike. The house she came to was still luxurious, but it was almost a gilded cage, for her husband was often away from her and she was almost as taken for granted as Anand Bhawan itself. 'She gave me strength', Jawaharlal wrote after her death in 1936, 'but she must have suffered and felt a little neglected. An unkindness to her would almost have been better than this semi-forgetful, casual attitude.'

Jawaharlal, Kamala, and their daughter Indira, 1918

In 1917, their only child was born, a girl who was named Indira Priyadarshini. For the rest of her life, Kamala was to remain an invalid, feeling deeply her inability to be at her husband's side in the march to freedom.

A new picture of India

Motilal's decision to throw in his lot with Gandhi meant many changes in the great house at Allahabad. Motilal gave up his legal practice, sold his horses and carriages, discharged his vast retinue of servants. The women of his household were now to wear rough homespun saris instead of the rich silks and brocades they had been accustomed to. Nehru was little touched by the new dispensation—physical austerity was merely an addition to the austerity of his mind. Throughout his life his environment had meant little to him.

Paddy fields during the monsoon

In May 1920, Nehru made a new discovery of an India at whose existence he had perhaps barely guessed. In that month, two hundred peasants marched upon Allahabad and gathered on the banks of the Jumna. Nehru went to see them and they begged him to help in their fight against rapacious landlords. They persuaded him to return with them and see their condition for himself. Nehru had never stayed in a village before. The poverty of the peasants, the wretched hovels in which they were forced to starve, the oppressions of landlord and money-lender, were a startling revelation. He talked to the villagers, assuring them of his help. 'Looking at them and their misery and overflowing gratitude,' he wrote, 'I was filled with shame and sorrow, shame at my own easy-going and comfortable life, and our petty politics of the city . . . . A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. And their faith in us, casual visitors from a distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with a new responsibility that frightened me.'

Gandhi at the time of the early non-violent campaigns

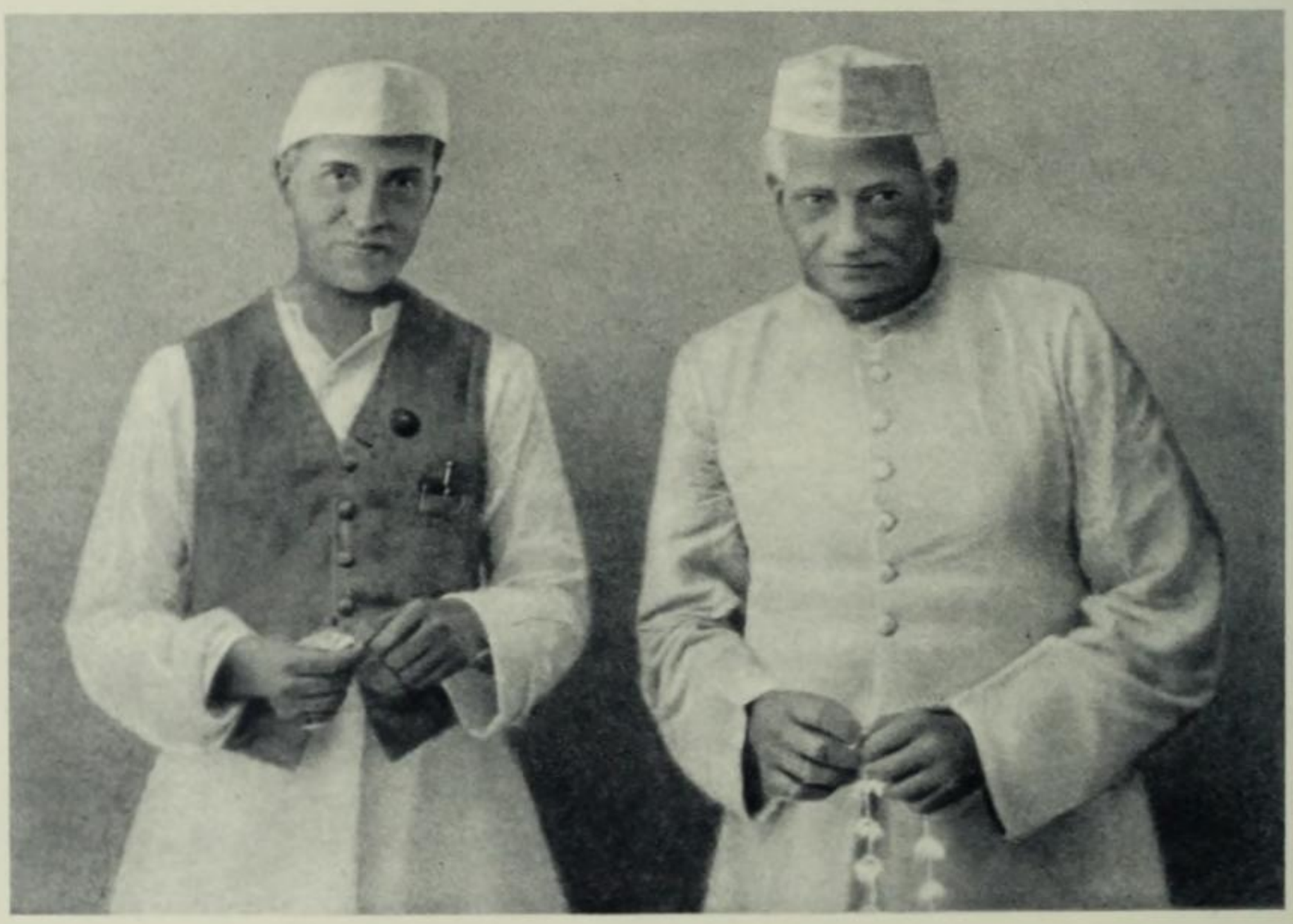
As Nehru discovered the India of the village, the message Gandhi preached was discovered by the villagers. The nationalist movement seemed to be reaching the very roots of India, was no longer the plaything of urban intellectuals. 'He is taking the masses with him', said Nehru of Gandhi, 'not merely converting the elect.' In his journeys, Nehru soon acquired company—that of the police. Rioting and repression soon appeared, but so also did new legislation to help the peasant. Positive action, it seemed, brought positive results. As the peasants responded to Nehru's presence so Nehru seemed to draw a new strength from them. He began to establish a surprisingly intimate relationship with the downtrodden. It was in these early years that Nehru's hold on the Indian masses was forged. Unlike Gandhi, he made no attempt to live or act as they did. In a sense, he made no concessions, yet he was to write that he 'felt at home in the dust and discomfort, the pushing and jostling of large gatherings'. Though he admitted, that their want of discipline often 'irritated me'!

In August 1920, Gandhi outlined his philosophy of revolution in *Young India*. His was a call for sacrifice, for the putting—as he phrased it—of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Many of the old-guard nationalists thought non-violence and non-cooperation impracticable. Motilal, a moderate by conviction, was not sure of his attitude, but after many days of thought, he came down on the side of the Mahatma.

A decision was made to boycott the elections for the new assemblies established under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. About two-thirds of those qualified to vote abstained. At Nagpur, in December 1920, despite appeals from some Congress leaders (including Jinnah), the majority of Congress called for a non-cooperation campaign. For Nehru, aged thirty-one, it seemed that a new era was dawning. 'We were full of excitement and optimism and buoyant enthusiasm,' he recorded. 'We sensed the happiness of a person crusading for a cause.'

In mid-May 1921, the new viceroy, Lord Reading, called upon Gandhi to attend talks. This, at least, was official recognition of Gandhi's importance. But the talks were inconclusive and in the meantime the countryside was being aroused.

'Soldiers for freedom'. Jawaharlal and his father during a civil disobedience campaign, *c.* 1925



Boycott. The sign reads 'Foreign cloth should not be worn by Indians. We should use our own manufacture'

Nehru continued his journey through the villages. The constraint—shyness, almost—that seemed to catch him by the throat in the cities, dissolved away when he was among the peasants. Their trust brought out all his humanity.

1921 was a year of great unrest. Non-violence was not always possible; demonstrations crept over the borderline into violence. The British pursued a policy of as yet small-scale repression; Congress leaders were prohibited from entering certain areas. Thousands of students left their schools and universities in protest. Many Indians returned their orders and decorations to the government. In July, the All-India Congress Committee called for a boycott of all foreign-made cloth. Liquor shops were picketed. Gandhi personally supervised a bonfire of foreign cloth in Bombay. Here was action—even if it were only symbolic. In the legislatures, the moderate politicians debated meaninglessly. In the countryside, Gandhi's ideas were sweeping the land.

For some time, the British had been expecting an outbreak of real violence. In May, Jawaharlal's sister, Swarup, had been married to Ranjit Pandit at Allahabad, and the British in the city, expecting crowds and believing a rising was planned for the day of the wedding, discovered that the exact date was 10 May and became even more apprehensive. By sheer accident, the marriage was to take place on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Some Congress leaders were arrested, and Nehru was threatened with prosecution, but nothing came of it at the time. Then the British decided to bring out the Prince of Wales, in the rather forlorn hope that there might be an upsurge of loyalty. Congress proclaimed a boycott of all the royal festivities and when the prince arrived in November, he was greeted in Bombay by three days of rioting. Over fifty people were killed by police bullets and about four hundred injured. Gandhi was shocked, and began a fast until peace was restored. Violence stopped, but everywhere he went the prince found empty streets, and the festivities in his honour were attended almost entirely by the English population.

Into Prison

On 19 November, the government declared Congress an illegal organization, and early in December they arrested the president-elect and many others. On 6 December, Jawaharlal returned to Anand Bhawan to find police searching the house. He and his father were arrested—Motilal on the charge of being a member of an illegal organization, his son for distributing notices for the closing of businesses and schools as a form of protest. Their trials were a farce, and both were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, although the authorities later discovered that Jawaharlal's action was, in fact, not legally an offence at all, and released him after three months. Father and son were only two amongst some thirty thousand imprisoned for political agitation. The government had obviously begun to take Congress seriously.

The Nehrus were imprisoned in the Lucknow district jail, and both were housed with sixteen others in an old weaving shed. Restrictions were not too irksome, but although political prisoners could have newspapers and visitors, time dragged.

Gandhi, still free, attended a meeting of Congress in Ahmedabad in December 1921, and called for 'aggressive disobedience to all government laws and constitutions, for non-violence, for the continuation of public meetings throughout India despite government prohibition, and for all Indians to offer themselves peacefully for arrest . . .' The government continued its policy of repression. Then, in February 1922, after a crowd had burnt down a police station in the village of Chauri Chaura, twenty-two policemen dying in the fire, Gandhi called off the civil disobedience campaign. Motilal and Jawaharlal were strongly against this decision and so were many other Congress leaders. But Gandhi refused to retract. Shortly after this, Jawaharlal was released from prison, following the discovery that he had been improperly sentenced. He spent a few days at home with his wife and child, then went to visit Gandhi at Ahmadabad. When Nehru arrived, Gandhi had already been arrested. Nehru attended the trial and heard the verdict of guilty and the sentence of six years' imprisonment; he went away deeply disturbed.

Boycott. The banner reads 'Liquor turns men into beasts'

Non-violence.
Women demonstrators on their way to jail

A demonstrator, wounded by the police,
is carried into hospital

Nehru now turned his attention to Congress, whose organization had been disrupted by the wholesale arrest of its leaders. If something were not done quickly, the extremists might gain control of the civil disobedience movement. Though Nehru did not approve of Gandhi's decision to end the campaign, he still felt bound to carry out the Mahatma's wishes. But in Allahabad he discovered that though almost all the cloth-merchants there had agreed not to buy or stock foreign cloth, some were doing so secretly. After arguments had proved ineffectual, he decided to picket the shops of those who had broken their promise. This so upset the authorities that they issued a warrant for his arrest on a charge of intimidation and extortion as well as the more usual charge of sedition.

In court, Jawaharlal put up no defence and was sentenced to a total of twenty-one months' imprisonment. 'I shall go to jail again', he declared, 'most willingly and joyfully. Jail has indeed become a heaven for us, a holy place of pilgrimage. I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate. But to suffer for our dear country! What greater good fortune can befall an Indian unless it is death for the cause or the full realization of our glorious dream?'

This time, the atmosphere in Lucknow jail was not so easy-going. The authorities were learning to treat political prisoners as dangerous criminals. There was, to begin with, serious overcrowding—fifty people into one barrack. Above all, there was no privacy. For the first time, Jawaharlal missed his home and the little four-year-old girl of whom he had seen so little. He read long and widely, but he was cut off from everyday things, for now prison rules barred newspapers and restricted letters and visits to one a month. Such news as did trickle through was bad. Congress had split into two factions—those who wanted to continue the struggle as Gandhi wished, and those who wanted a new policy, to sit in the legislatures and capture them from inside. Motilal sided with the latter group, and once again, Nehru found himself in conflict with his father.

Inside the prison, friction grew between prisoners and the authorities. Nehru and six others were suspected of being the ringleaders and were separated in another part of the jail. This, at least, provided a little more privacy. The seven had their own vegetable patch; most of them spent part of the day at the spinning wheel; all drew their own water from the well. 'Prison', Nehru was to remark many years later, 'has made a man of me.' Imprisonment gave him the leisure to think, to harden himself, above all to confirm his purpose.

In January 1923, the government decided that there was good propaganda value in clemency, and granted an amnesty to political prisoners. Nehru was

A procession of women carrying the national flag

released. For the first time, the previous November, he had spent a birthday in jail. At thirty-three, he had served two prison sentences for his country. Five more were still to come.

Into a changed world

When Jawaharlal emerged from jail, after less than a year, it was to find an India which seemed exhausted and weary. What had appeared as a hurricane of nationalist agitation, whipping up everything in its path, had been almost forgotten. Instead of being against the British, the struggle was now between separate factions manoeuvring for power within Congress. Now that he was free, Jawaharlal attempted to heal the breach but, as he later put it, 'we met with little success, and I was fed up with pro-change and no-change politics'. He turned away to concentrate on his own state of the United Provinces, where he was secretary of the Congress committee.

In 1923, many large cities had Congress members for mayors. Allahabad was to be no exception for, in the same year, Jawaharlal was elected president of the municipality. His civic career was to last for two years. During this period, he was approached with an offer of the post of education minister in the provincial government. Jawaharlal refused—'ministries were going cheap in those days'! But other nationalists were not as scrupulous. In government

At Amritsar, followers of Gandhi march off to defy authority

hands, patronage is the pill of bribery coated with the sugar of 'duty' in the 'public interest'. Some nationalists decided to co-operate with the government.

The 'pro-changers' in Congress included Motilal, and their arguments were growing ever more convincing. In September 1923, at a special session of Congress held in Delhi, it was agreed that Swaraj ('freedom') Party candidates should enter the legislatures.

Soon after this decision was taken, Jawaharlal was arrested for the third time. He had accepted an invitation to go to watch a body of Sikh demonstrators marching to Jaito in Nabha state. But when he and two companions reached Jaito, they were served with an order requesting them not to enter the state, or (if they had already done so) to leave immediately. When they explained that they were not demonstrators but merely observers and that they could not, in any case, leave until the next train some hours later—in fact, that they intended to stay—they were arrested and placed in the local lock-up.

Amritsar. Police attack demonstrators with lathis

In the evening, with his left wrist handcuffed to the right wrist of one of his companions, and a policeman holding a chain attached to the handcuff, Nehru was marched with his companions to the railway station. When they reached the state capital, still handcuffed and chained, they were held for three days in a tiny insanitary cell. 'At night', Nehru notes in his autobiography, 'we slept on the floor, and I would wake up with a start, full of horror, to find a rat or a mouse had just passed over my face.'

They were finally taken into court, where the judge seemed to be totally illiterate and the 'case' dragged on, until suddenly one day the prisoners were taken from that court room into another, complete with another magistrate. Here they were tried on a new criminal charge—of conspiracy. As it required a minimum of four persons in order to make up a 'conspiracy', the court generously supplied another person to stand in the dock with the three accused. Both court and procedure were farcical, but the sentences were not; after a fortnight, all four were condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment on the conspiracy charge and Nehru and his two original companions to a further six months for not obeying the order to leave the state.

Amritsar. Memorial to those killed in the Jallianwala Bagh

That same evening, they were informed that the British administrator of the state had suspended their sentences, and they were escorted to the railway station and set free. What happened to the unfortunate fourth man, Nehru never found out. One result of their stay in Nabha jail was an attack of typhoid.

In December 1923, the Swaraj Party, led by Motilal, won forty-five seats in the Central Legislature; these, with the assistance of other nationalist groups, gave them a majority. Not that a majority meant very much in an assembly whose role was almost purely advisory and whose decisions could, if they were disliked by the government, be overruled by the viceroy. Shortly after this, at the annual meeting of Congress held in Cocanada in south India, Jawaharlal was asked to accept the post of secretary of the All-India Congress. He agreed. Out of this session one important thing emerged—a new All-India voluntary organization called the *Hindustani Seva Dal,* which was later to form a well-disciplined hard core of workers for freedom.

Elsewhere, the smell of violence was in the air. Hindus were attacking Muslims for slaughtering cows, while the Muslims complained that Hindus were trying to prevent them from worshipping in their mosques. A European

A scene in south India; oil pressing from coconuts

civilian was murdered in Calcutta; everywhere the fanatics were busy drumming up communal hatreds. Gandhi's protests went unheard. Congress men who had been glad to go to prison in 1921 and 1922 were now pleased to accept empty ministerial titles from the British. Congress was further shaken by Gandhi's call for a limitation upon its membership—only those who produced a fixed quantity of yarn spun by themselves would be allowed to join. Previously, membership had been open to all who paid their tiny subscription of four annas (then about 5d). Jawaharlal was 'shocked at what I considered a violence to our constitution', and offered his resignation. Gandhi's resolution was pressed, and won—because of many abstentions. Ultimately, the spinning qualification became an *alternative* form of qualification.

Gandhi spinning

Gandhi still—as for some time past—seemed to offer little positive guidance, but Nehru had begin to understand the nature of Gandhi's mind. 'I came', he wrote later, 'to understand that Gandhiji's difficulties had been caused because he was moving in an unfamiliar medium . . . he could understand absolute war or absolute peace. Anything in between he did not appreciate.' At the Congress meeting at Belgaum in 1924, Gandhi was content to repeat his uninspiring belief in the virtue of the spinning wheel. 'I swear by civil disobedience,' he said. 'But civil disobedience for the attainment of *swaraj* is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving the boycott of foreign cloth.' Despite his disappointment, Nehru was persuaded to remain in his position as secretary.

1925 was a dead year when little mass activity took place. Jawaharlal continued his municipal work in Allahabad—but he had had enough, and was determined to resign. In the autumn his wife, Kamala, fell seriously ill. The doctors recommended that she be taken to Switzerland in search of treatment for her tuberculosis. Nehru felt he would be glad to go too. 'I welcomed the idea, for I wanted an excuse to go out of India myself. My mind was befogged and no clear path was visible, and I thought that perhaps if I was far from India I could see things in better perspective and lighten up the dark corners of my mind.'

A new viceroy leaves for India. Lord and Lady Irwin with the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury at Victoria Station, London, March 1926

At the beginning of March 1926, Kamala and Jawaharlal, with their daughter Indira, sailed from Bombay for Venice. In the same month a new Viceroy, Lord Irwin, sailed for India.

In Europe

It was fourteen years since Jawaharlal had last been in Europe. Both he and it had changed. Something, however, of the young man of twenty-three remained behind the façade of sophistication which involvement in the freedom movement and spells in prison had given to his mind. Inside, Jawaharlal was still beset with doubts. Freedom, he thought, was all very well as a goal, but what came after? Gandhi seemed concerned only with attaining *swaraj*, not with what was to be done with *swaraj* when it came.

Europe, too, was very different from the calm secure place of the pre-war era. Empires had toppled in Europe; above all, a new type of 'nation' had emerged in the Soviet Union. The air appeared to be full of unease, heavy with the presage of great, or at least violent, events. 'I found', Jawaharlal wrote, 'the vast political, economic, and cultural changes going on in Europe and America a fascinating study. Soviet Russia, despite certain unpleasant aspects, attracted me greatly and seemed to hold forth a message of hope to the world.'

At the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities.
Madame Sun Yat-sen

George Lansbury, one of the leaders of
the British Labour Party

In February 1927, Jawaharlal went to Brussels as an Indian National Congress delegate to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities. Many Asians were present, some of whom were later to stride on to the world stage. Madame Sun Yat-sen was there, as was a quiet-looking Vietnamese called, then, Nguyen-Ai-Quoc, later to change his name to Ho Chi Minh. The chairman of the Congress was the British Socialist leader, George Lansbury. There were many Communists, too, at Brussels. At that time, the Soviet Union seemed to be the oppressed nations' ally against imperialism. It was British imperialism that was the enemy, and the Soviet Union appeared in some imprecise but real manner to stand in its way. But the Marxism of the Soviets was not, and still is not, the Marxism of Nehru. His socialism is pragmatic, personal; above all he dislikes dogmatism.

Nehru was beginning to give a definite pattern to his ideas, which he believed could be married with those of Gandhi, who 'was sometimes annoyingly backward'. The Soviet Union's great attempt to rouse a whole nation by concerted effort appealed to Nehru for, in a profound sense, Russia was at

that time also an 'underdeveloped' country. But his ideas belonged to the future, and the immediate problem remained as to what should be the strategy of the movement for freedom. In Brussels, Jawaharlal learned of the problems of other oppressed peoples, and was able to break out of the narrow context of India's problems into a wider world. He began to realize that the struggle against alien rule was a shared struggle.

When Motilal joined him in the autumn of 1927, Jawaharlal persuaded the family to go to Russia. At the station in Moscow, they were welcomed by Shapurji Saklatvala, a Communist member of the British Parliament. Jawaharlal was fascinated by Russia, 'this strange Eurasian country', as he called it. There were many things to see including Lenin's tomb, where the embalmed face of the Soviet leader wore on its lips 'a smile, and there is a suggestion of pugnacity, of work done and success achieved . . . Even in death he is a dictator'. The two Nehrus were received by the president and the foreign minister, but their visit was very brief. 'It did not, and could not, teach us much about the new Russia, but it did give us a background for our reading.' Even Motilal, who did not approve of collectivization and regimentation, was impressed by what he saw.

Nehru and Ho Chi Minh in 1954

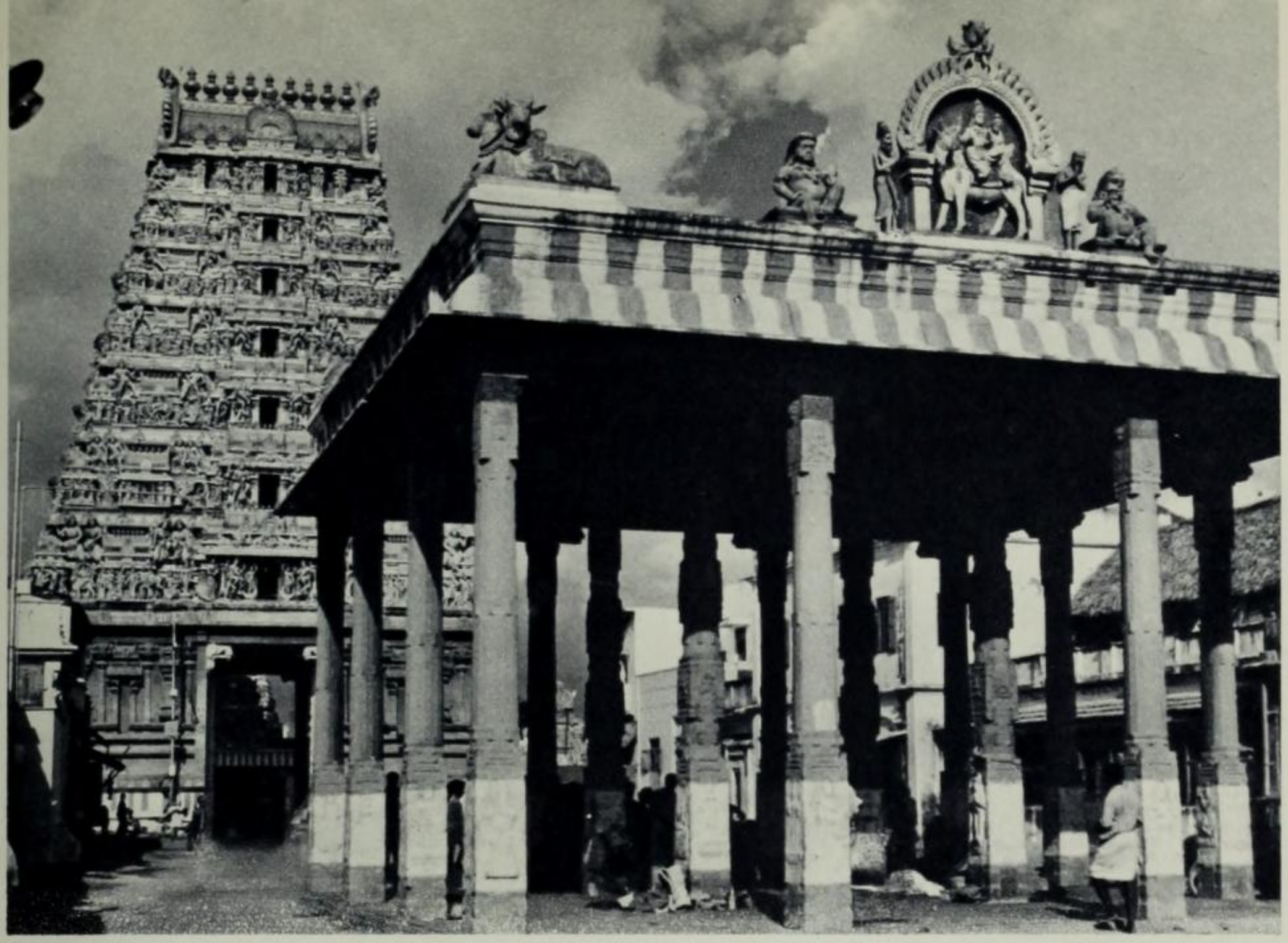
Jawaharlal became anxious to return home. A visit to Europe, originally intended to last six or seven months, had stretched to nearly two years. He wanted to return for the Congress meeting which was to be held at Madras in December. In November 1926, while he had been in Europe, elections for the central and provincial assemblies had taken place. A new party, the Nationalist Party, had emerged, which was militantly Hindu in character, and further intensified Hindu-Muslim antagonism. The Nationalist Party had considerable success in the elections, for its pro-Hindu programme attracted many reactionaries, and Motilal's Swaraj Party lost many of its members to the new organization. The pattern of political parties in India was breaking down from one genuinely nationalist front, behind which all Indians could march to freedom, into a number of parties representing extreme religious differences. While all this was going on, Gandhi seemed satisfied to tour the country in the interests of homespun cloth, and preaching against untouchability.

The British, too, were active. Stanley Baldwin's Conservative government in London had appointed a commission (consisting entirely of British members) to enquire into the workings of British government in India, and to suggest proposals for further constitutional 'advances'. The totally British composition of the commission under its chairman, Sir John Simon, naturally inflamed opinion in India. Indians were, it seemed, altogether excluded from having even the smallest finger in their own destiny. Their reaction effectively overruled communal and political differences. All levels of nationalist opinion were united in denouncing the commission and the torpid aspect of Indian political life was suddenly replaced by a new sense of urgency. It was indeed time for Jawaharlal to return home.

Plunging into Politics

The Nehru who arrived in India early in December 1927 felt full of vigour and vitality; 'the sense of inner conflict and frustration that oppressed me so often previously' was absent. His outlook was wider. He was able to look beyond the immediate goal of Indian freedom towards the making of a new society; to see that, 'without social freedom and a socialistic structure of society and the state', independence would not add up to much. There must be preparation for the future.

Motilal had remained in Europe. It was Jawaharlal alone who attended the Madras session of Congress. At the meeting, he put forward a number of resolutions reflecting the concrete ideas he had now acquired—resolutions on independence, danger of war, and many other subjects. To Nehru's surprise, all were unanimously adopted. But Gandhi, it seemed, did not approve. 'Congress', he wrote, 'stultifies itself by repeating year after year resolutions of this character, when it knows that it is not capable of carrying them into effect.'

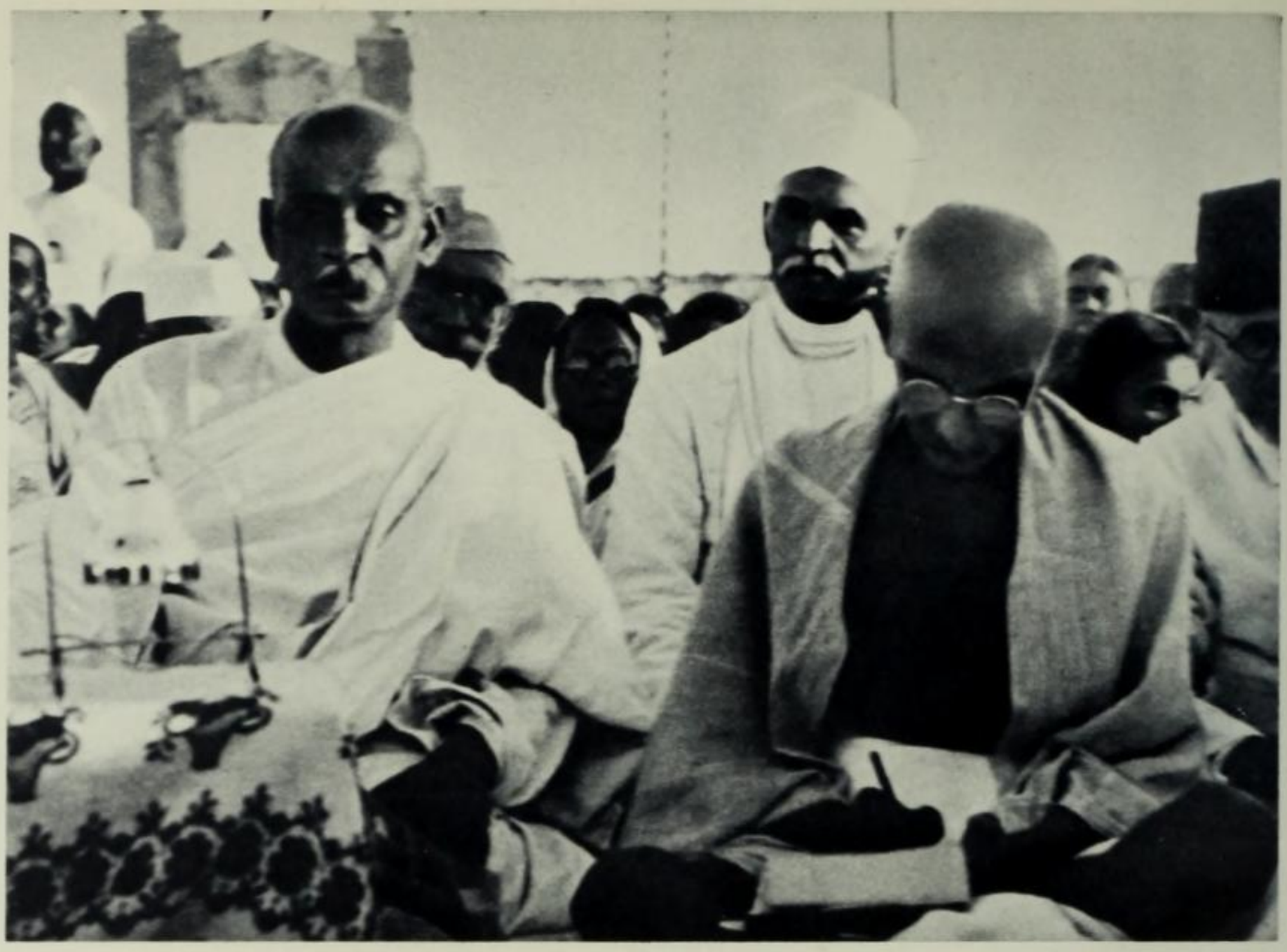


A Temple in Madras

Paper resolutions, he went on, could not win freedom but only contempt. Gandhi felt that Nehru was moving away from him. 'You are going too far', he wrote in a letter dated 4 January 1928. 'You should take time to think and become acclimatized.' Congress's resolution, carried at the same time as Jawaharlal's, to boycott the Simon Commission, was much more realistic.

It was true enough that, after twenty-one months in Europe, Nehru needed to acclimatize himself. In 1928, India was no longer quiet, depressed and sullen, as he had left it two years before; indeed, Nehru began to feel that it was on the march again. He began to interest himself in the trade union movement. To his surprise, and without his prior knowledge, he found himself elected president of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress for 1928. Nehru felt it wrong—'positively indecent', in fact—that someone who was not a worker should be nominated for this post. Nevertheless, he decided to accept the nomination.

In the countryside, the peasants were stirring. This was most noticeable in the United Provinces and at Bardoli in Gujarat, where the small peasant proprietors rose in successful protest against tax assessments. They were led by Vallabhbhai Patel, one-time playboy, who had given up everything to follow Gandhi. For his success at Bardoli, he was given the title of *sardar* ('Leader')



Gandhi and other leaders at a session of Congress

by the peasants. Patel was later to play a decisive role in the freedom movement and in the government of independent India. At Bardoli, the government had arrested tax-defaulters, then seized their land and sold it by auction at low prices. The peasants would not yield, however, and in the end the government gave way. Tax assessments were reduced. 'Bardoli', wrote Nehru, 'became a signal of hope and strength and victory to the Indian peasants.'

At this time youth movements were being formed all over India, and Nehru was in constant demand as a speaker. The new Youth Leagues played a prominent part in the boycott of the Simon Commission. The commission was received everywhere by hostile crowds, waving black flags, and shouting 'Simon, go back'; thus, as Nehru put it, 'most members of the Indian masses become not only acquainted with Sir John Simon's name but with two words of the English language, the only two they knew'. This formula was so successful that the two words became a hated obsession for the members of the commission. In his autobiography, Nehru relates a story that 'once, when they (the commission) were staying at the Western Hotel in New Delhi, the refrain seemed to come to them in the night out of the darkness. They were greatly

Demonstrating against the Simon Commission. Madras 1929

irritated at being pursued in this way even at night. As a matter of fact, the noise that disturbed them came from the jackals that infest the waste places of the imperial capital!'

There were, however, much more serious consequences of the boycott. Police firing at unarmed and generally peaceful crowds had resulted in a number of unpleasant incidents. In Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai, leader of the Nationalist Party, had been beaten across the chest with a baton by a British police officer. Rai's heart was weak and he died a few days later. Yet he had offered no violence, nor had the crowd. This police brutality appeared to be senseless; 'to find', wrote Nehru, that 'the foremost and most popular man in the Punjab could be so treated seemed little short of monstrous, and a dull anger spread all over the country.'

Soon Nehru was to feel the police *lathis* (bamboo sticks) upon his own back. While he was leading a body of sixteen men to a meeting place in Lucknow, they were attacked by thirty-six mounted policemen. As the horses bore down upon them, the band scattered, leaving Nehru alone in the middle of the street. A policeman swept down upon him and gave him two heavy blows across the back. 'The bodily pain I felt', he wrote later, 'was quite forgotten in a feeling of exhilaration that I was physically strong enough to face and bear *lathi* blows. And a thing that surprised me was that right through the incident, even when I was being beaten, my mind was quite clear and I was consciously analysing my feelings.' It was a good preparation for the following day.

The commission was then visiting Lucknow. The authorities had turned out troops to guard the railway station and strong forces of foot and mounted police to patrol the city. The demonstrators were forced to line up on one side of a vast open space before the station. Here they stayed peaceably and shouted slogans, until suddenly a moving mass in the distance came into focus as mounted police—who, swinging their *lathis*, charged the demonstrators. Somehow, these stood firm under a rain of blows. Nehru, half blinded and stunned, felt the desire to hit back. 'I thought how easy it would be to pull down the police officer in front of me from his horse and to mount up myself, but long training and discipline held and I did not raise a hand, except to protect my face from a blow. Besides, I knew well enough that any aggression on our part would result in a ghastly tragedy, the firing at and shooting down of large numbers of our men.' There was excitement and struggle but, he asked himself, to what end was it leading?

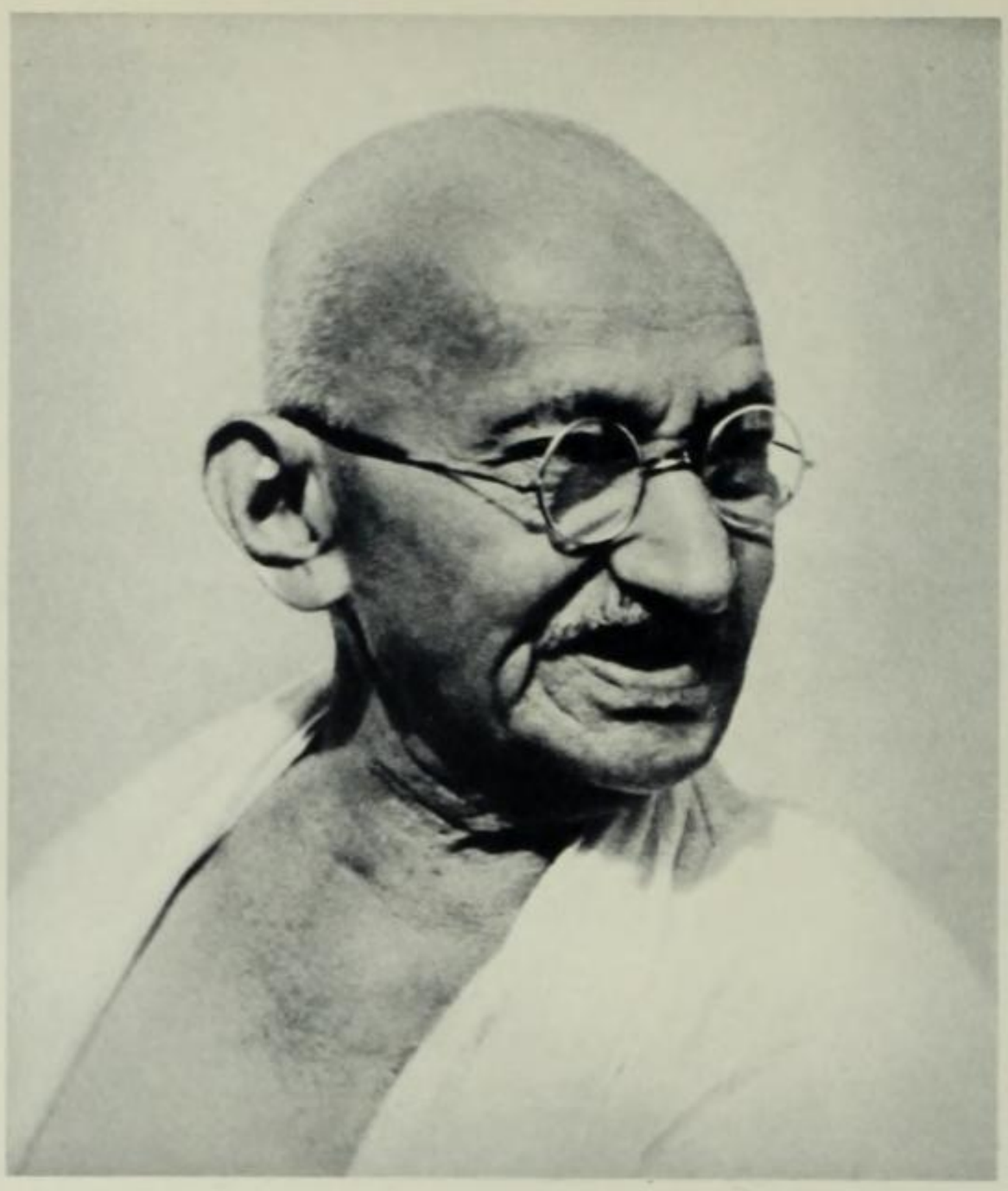
Elsewhere, too, violence was abroad. In Lahore, the police officer who had attacked Lala Lajpat Rai was murdered, and two home-made bombs were thrown in the Central Assembly in Delhi. A wave of terrorism hit Bengal. The government issued ordinances empowering itself to arrest and detain offenders without trial. The jails began to fill up. Strikes hit the Bengal jute mills, and Calcutta's scavengers stopped work. In Bombay, one hundred thousand strikers brought the cotton mills to a standstill. In March 1929, the government arrested the most prominent labour leaders and charged them with conspiracy and sedition. Their trial was not to be completed until four and a half years later. Nehru, as president of the T.U.C., organized a defence committee headed by his father, but he found it difficult both to collect funds and to secure the services of lawyers to handle the defence.

In the wider field, Congress had been attempting to draw up a *swaraj* constitution in consultation with other parties, including the religious organizations. In May 1928, an All-Parties Conference was held in Bombay, and Motilal Nehru—newly returned from Europe—was appointed head of a

Non-violence answered by violence. Police break up a demonstration

committee to draft a constitution. When this was formulated, it contained a number of concessions to minorities. The committee also came down, not for complete independence, but for Dominion status. Jawaharlal was strongly against this, but his father would not yield. When the All-Parties Conference met again, in August at Lucknow, Jawaharlal put his views vigorously but to no avail. Jawaharlal was also upset by a clause in the committee's recommendation which guaranteed for big landowners in Oudh their right to their estates. He offered his resignation, but it was refused. 'Again', said Nehru, 'I agreed. It was surprising how easy it was to win me over to a withdrawal of my resignation. This happened on many occasions and, as neither party really liked the idea of a break, we clung to every pretext to avoid it.'

Gandhi had kept himself out of all these discussions. He continued his journeys, preaching unity, non-violence, anti-untouchability, prohibition, and the boycott of foreign cloth. He had, however, seriously condemned outbreaks of violence. Jawaharlal, too, had been travelling through India addressing



Gandhi at the time of
the Round Table Conference

conferences and gatherings of peasants and workers, always putting forward his socialist ideas, stressing always that independence was only the first step to social freedom.

In December 1928, the annual session of Congress was held at Calcutta under the presidency of Motilal Nehru. The tensions between father and son persisted. Motilal was determined that the resolution of the All-Parties Conference should be accepted by Congress. Ultimately, however, a compromise was worked out. The resolution was accepted with the proviso that, if the British government did not agree to Dominion status for India within one year, Congress would instead call for complete independence.

Thus, 1929 was to be a year of preparation. Three men were nominated as president of the decisive Congress session in December—in order of votes, Gandhi, Patel and Jawaharlal. Gandhi declined the nomination and recommended Jawaharlal, whom he had consulted before making the recommendation. 'Do you feel strong enough to bear the weight?' he asked. Jawaharlal replied, 'If it is thrust upon me, I hope I shall not wince.'

In putting Jawaharlal's name forward for president of the session at Lahore, Gandhi had written: 'He is undoubtedly an extremist, thinking far ahead of

Jawaharlal, 1929

his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to breaking point. He is as pure as crystal. He is truthful beyond suspicion . . . . the nation is safe in his hands.'

Events in India had moved so fast that the Simon Commission's recommendations were already out of date. They had been consigned to limbo (even before they were published) by a statement of the viceroy, Lord Irwin (later Lord Halifax), made in October 1929. 'I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgement . . . the natural issue of India's constitutional progress is attainment of Dominion status.' Irwin then issued an invitation to Indian leaders to attend a round-table conference in London.

This statement seemed designed to silence Congress demands for Dominion status, even though only in principle. Nevertheless, it was at least a new and apparently concessionary approach. Congress and moderate leaders met together to discuss their attitude and a joint resolution was finally arrived at. This resolution demanded that the conference in London should be on the basis of full Dominion status for India, that India's representatives should be, in the main, members of Congress, and that there should be an amnesty for

Lahore, scene of the All-India Congress meeting of 1929

political prisoners. Also, as far as was possible, the government of India should be carried on as if Dominion status had already been granted.

Jawaharlal did not like the resolution; it was a bad compromise. At first, he refused to sign it, though characteristically he changed his mind. A sensible decision—for this was certainly not the time to split Congress. Even after signing, Nehru remained unhappy and he thought of withdrawing from the presidency of Congress, but again he changed his mind. 'A soothing letter from Gandhiji and three days of reflection calmed me.'

As was to be expected, the declaration was unacceptable to the British.

On 23 December, the eve of the Lahore session, Gandhi—with Motilal, Patel, Jinnah and the moderate leader, Tej Bahadur Sapru—was to meet the viceroy at Delhi. That day, the viceregal train which was bringing Lord Irwin to the appointment was damaged by a bomb. The viceroy was unhurt, but when he met Gandhi and his colleagues it became clear that there was no basis for discussion on the question of Dominion status, though Lord Irwin was prepared to make concessions over an amnesty. Unsatisfied, Gandhi left.

Vallabhbhai Patel

The eyes of the country were now upon Lahore, on the great tented camp pitched upon the banks of the river Ravi. Over thirty thousand delegates and spectators had gathered for this momentous session of Congress. Jawaharlal, as president, rode on a white horse at the head of a procession. In his presidential address he made both his beliefs and his position quite clear. Firstly, he confessed that he was a socialist and a republican. He was also unequivocal about his views on independence. 'Independence for us', he declared, 'means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom, I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation and will even agree to give up part of her independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.' Already, he was thinking that there was a place for India in the Commonwealth as soon as she acquired the status of an equal with the existing members.

The country, Jawaharlal declared, had three main problems to solve—that of the minorities, the princes, and the peasants and workers. He ended his address with a call to battle, a call for suffering and sacrifice. 'Success often comes to those who desire and act; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes, and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers.'

Nehru's speech set the tone for the session. No more was there the simple, and to some almost treasonable, demand for Dominion status. Even Gandhi

Swaraj Bhavan, 'House of Freedom', Allahabad, given by Motilal Nehru to the Indian people

now called only for independence without compromise. The word *swaraj* was to mean complete independence and nothing less. Symbolically, the resolution calling for *swaraj* was finally declared carried at midnight on 31 December 1929. The Congress tricolour was unfurled to shouts of 'Inquilab Zindabad' (Long live the Revolution).

It followed from the resolution that all government legislative bodies should be boycotted, and Motilal Nehru called upon Congress members of the central and provincial assemblies to resign. Congress, too, authorized the All-India Congress Committee 'to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise and under such safeguards as it might consider necessary'. On 2 January 1930, it was decided that the twenty-sixth day of the same month should be celebrated throughout all India as Independence Day. 26 January is still kept in independent India today, as Republic Day. On that first one in 1930, great gatherings were reported from all over the country. The opening lines of the pledge were solemnly intoned by many thousands of people. 'We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they

Jawaharlal in the early 1930s

may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it.'

The gauntlet had been, quite unequivocally, thrown down.

Nehru began to find himself the object of immense popularity amongst the people. He had become a national hero. Songs were written about him, and he was hailed as 'the jewel of India' and 'embodiment of sacrifice'. Perhaps a trifle shamefacedly, he confesses that it went to his head but that his family helped to hold the balance. 'O Jewel of India, pass the butter' would greet him across the breakfast table.

Shortly after the Lahore Congress, Motilal decided to give Anand Bhawan, the great house at Allahabad, to the nation and to move to a new house just across the road. The old house, renamed Swaraj Bhawan (Abode of Independence), became partly a hospital and partly the offices of the All-India Congress Committee.

In the meantime, Gandhi had again puzzled Jawaharlal by producing his famous eleven points, the granting of which—he said—would allow him to call off the civil disobedience campaign. The points called for various social

The march to Dandi.
Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu

and political reforms, 'good in themselves, no doubt,' as Nehru said, 'but with no mention of independence'. One of the clauses seemed particularly irrelevant to the coming struggle. This called for the abolition of the tax on salt, whose manufacture was a government monopoly. But Gandhi was to convert this apparently minor demand into an immediately recognizable cry of revolt. He called upon the people to break the law and to make their own salt. Addressing the viceroy as 'Dear Friend', Gandhi wrote a letter telling him of his own intention to make salt. Lord Irwin's reply simply regretted that Gandhi 'contemplated a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law'.

On 12 March 1930, Gandhi set off on a march to the small seaside village of Dandi, a journey of over 200 miles. As he marched, the whole country seemed to rise and march with him, many in the flesh—in their thousands—

The illegal making of salt. Jawaharlal's wife is on the extreme left, next to her is his mother

many thousands more in the spirit. On the sea shore, on 6 April, Gandhi ceremoniously broke the law by picking up a piece of raw salt. 'It seemed', wrote Nehru, 'as though a spring had been suddenly released.' Everyone began to make salt, though pretty unwholesome stuff most of it was.

At first, the government proposed to treat the whole matter as a joke, but soon appreciated that it was not. A campaign of oppression began. On 14 April, Jawaharlal was arrested at Allahabad on a charge of breaking the salt law, and hastily sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Naini Central Jail. On 5 May, Gandhi was arrested at Dandi. To Jawaharlal's surprise, his own wife, Kamala, though ill, had thrown herself into the campaign in Allahabad and was revitalizing it. Civil disobedience on a massive scale was convulsing the country. Wives and sisters of Congressmen in jail stood in the forefront of the demonstrators. The struggle for freedom had brought even women—traditionally withdrawn from events—into the streets. On 5 June, Motilal was arrested and joined his son in Naini jail. 'Now we are together again,' he said.

Civil Disobedience

Students demonstrate against the arrest of Motilal

The summer of 1930 saw an attempt by nationalist leaders outside Congress to bring about a compromise between Congress and the government. The viceroy was almost anxious for such a compromise, as the civil disobedience campaign had been far more successful than the authorities had anticipated. Furthermore, if the Round Table Conference was to meet without Congress participation, it would seem like just a meeting of stooges. While Gandhi was not against a truce, he was not prepared to commit himself without the agreement of the two Nehrus. As far as Gandhi was concerned, 'Jawaharlal's must be the final voice'. All the Nehrus were prepared to do, however, was discuss the subject with their colleagues of the Committee. The viceroy would agree only to a meeting between Gandhi and the Nehrus, which other members of the Committee still out of jail would not be allowed to attend. The Nehrus agreed, though they pointed out that they could not commit their colleagues. On 10 August, Motilal—who was unwell—and Jawaharlal left by special train for Kirkee, near Poona. Large crowds greeted them on the route. They did not see Gandhi immediately, as the government did not wish them to meet until two intermediaries arrived. They were therefore kept in a separate barrack for twenty-four hours. When, on 13 August, the Nehrus were invited to meet

Naini jail today. The plaque over the entrance commemorates Jawaharlal's imprisonment there

Gandhi in the presence of two moderate nationalists, Motilal refused and insisted upon seeing Gandhi alone. This demand was granted. It was also agreed that Vallabhbhai Patel, who had just been arrested, should be allowed to join them.

The discussion with the viceroy led nowhere. Gandhi stated the minimum demands—that India's right to secede from the British Empire must be recognized; that a national government should be set up; and that all British financial claims should be submitted to an independent tribunal. These were unacceptable to the viceroy. On 16 August, the Nehrus were returned to Naini jail. Motilal was still unwell and, on 8 September, the government released him. As a sort of exchange, Jawaharlal's brother-in-law, Ranjit Pandit, was sent to join him. On 11 October, after serving his sentence, Jawaharlal was also released—for just eight days. Outside, the civil disobedience campaign was still in full swing and Jawaharlal threw himself into the fray by calling for a no-tax campaign in the United Provinces.

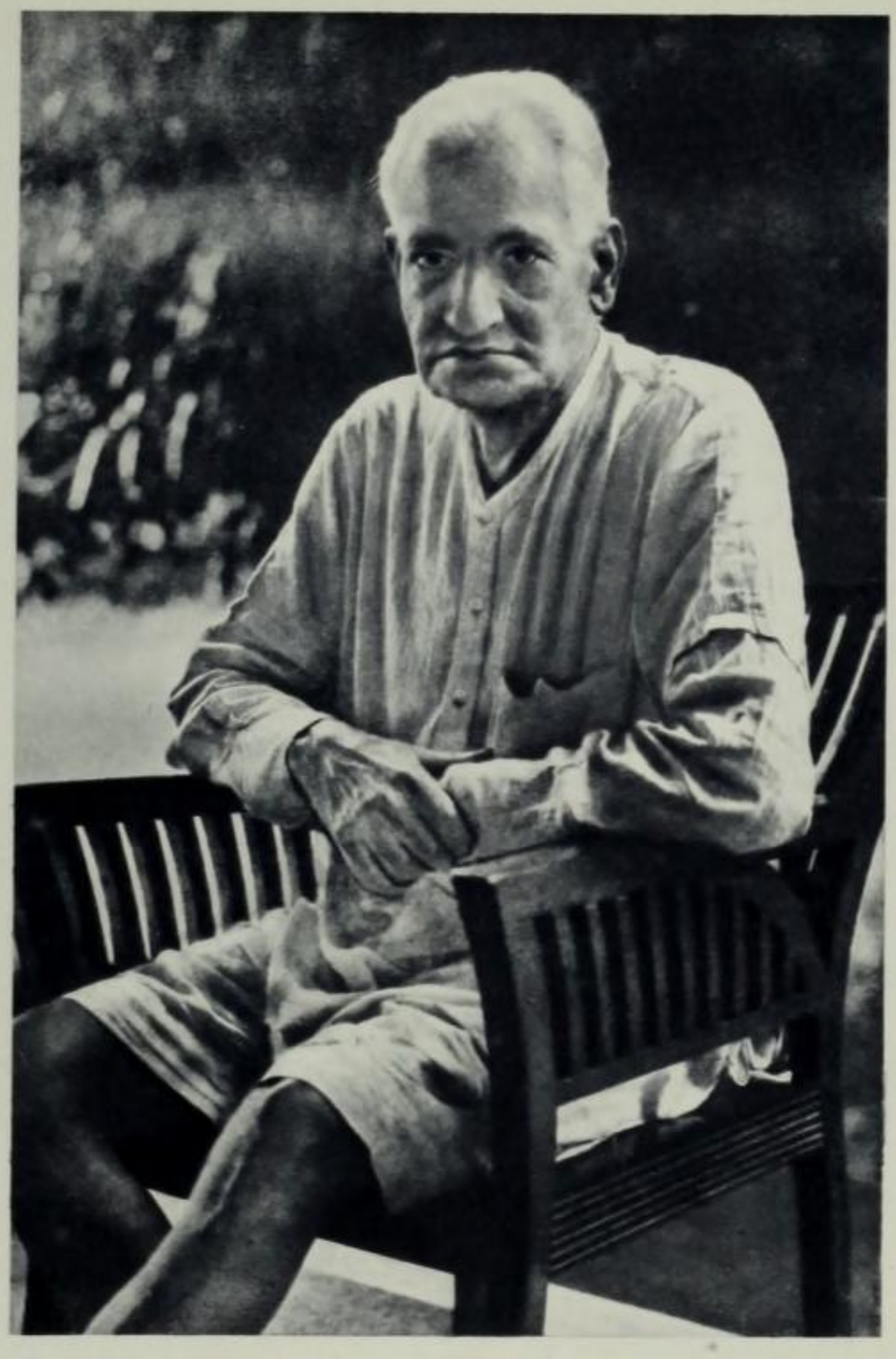
On 13 October, Jawaharlal left for a short holiday in Musoorie with his wife and child and three nieces. There, in the little hill station, Motilal was convalescing. After five days, however, Jawaharlal returned to Allahabad. On

The Round Table Conference, London 1931

the way, he was served with orders restraining him from addressing public meetings. At Allahabad, in defiance of the orders, he addressed some two thousand peasants who had gathered to meet him. On the same day, he met the returning Motilal at the station and went off to address another meeting. By nine o'clock that night, Jawaharlal was back in Naini jail to serve his fifth term of imprisonment.

Jail again

Motilal was now very ill, but on his son's arrest he seemed to regain some of his own vitality. He called for a country-wide celebration of Jawaharlal's birthday, with public readings of the passages in the speech that had caused him to be arrested. The response was tremendous. Over five thousand persons were arrested on the day—'a unique birthday celebration', was Jawaharlal's comment. This time, his jail sentence was much longer—two years, plus five extra months for refusing to pay a fine.



Motilal Nehru just before his death

Round Table Conference

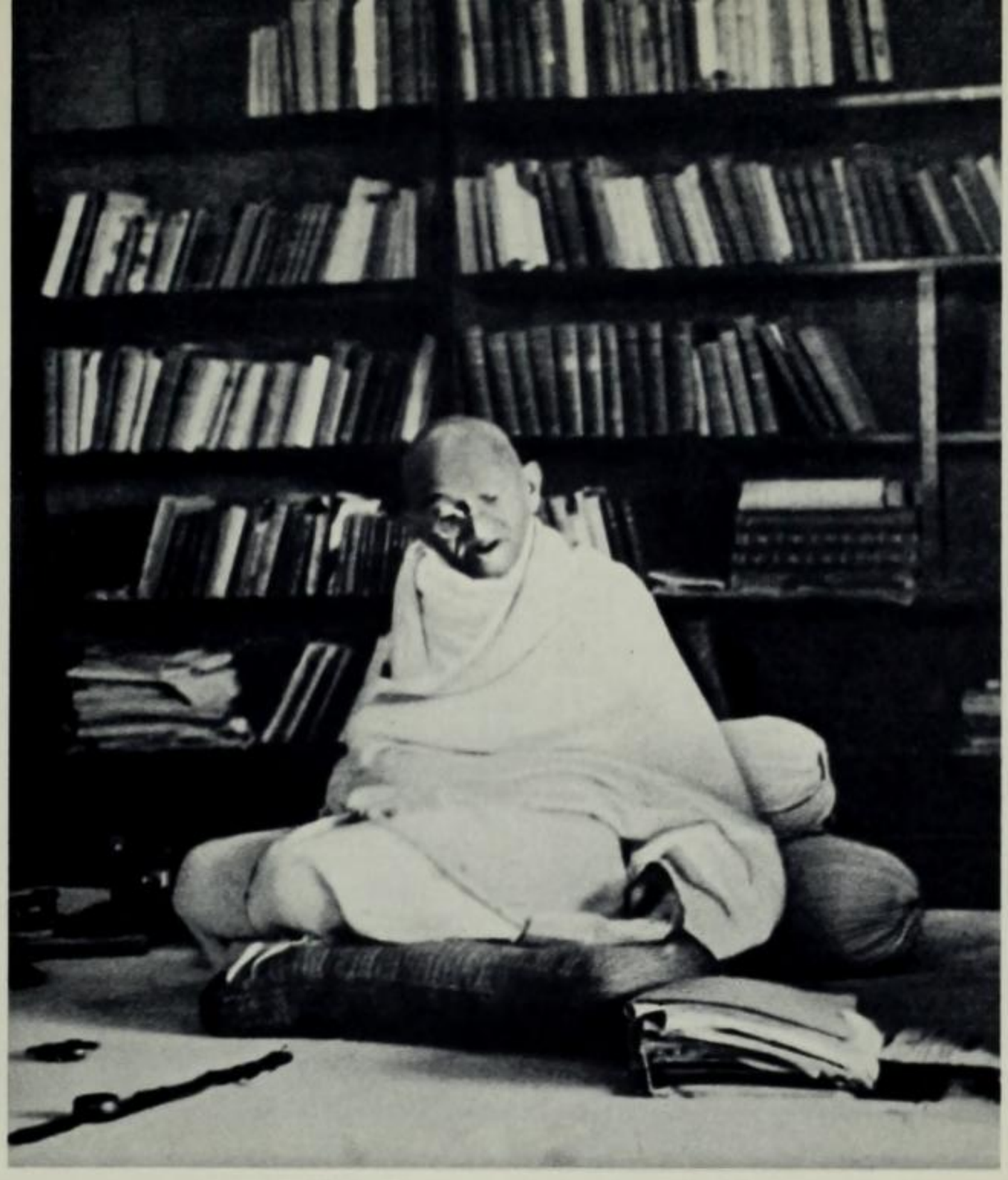
In November 1930 the Round Table Conference had opened in London. It was hoped that Congress might still be persuaded to attend the second session, scheduled for the autumn of 1931. On 25 January, the viceroy ordered the release of Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee. These members, including Nehru, were released on the following day. Motilal was now a sick man and, just before leaving Naini, Jawaharlal had been informed of a change for the worse in his father's condition. He was now confined to bed. Soon Gandhi arrived. 'I am going soon, Mahatmaji', Motilal said to his friend, 'and I shall not be here to see *swaraj*. But I know that you have won it and will soon have it.' For a while, Motilal seemed to revive a little, but again his condition deteriorated and it was decided to move him to Lucknow for better medical attention. Early in the morning of 6 February, however, as Jawaharlal kept vigil by his bedside, Motilal died in his sleep.

Motilal's body, wrapped in the Congress tricolour flag, was taken back by road to Allahabad. Great crowds thronged the route. After it had lain in state a few hours at Anand Bhawan, his body—accompanied by throngs of people—was taken to the banks of the Ganges and burnt upon the funeral pyre. 'As evening fell on the river bank on that winter day,' Jawaharlal wrote later in his autobiography, 'the great flames leapt up and consumed that body which had meant so much to us who were close to him, as well as to millions in India. Gandhiji said a few words to the multitude, and then all of us crept silently home. The stars were out and shining brightly when we returned, lonely and desolate.'

With the death of his father, Jawaharlal lost one of the two brakes upon his impetuosity. Only Gandhi remained, deeply admired by Nehru, but with ideas both obsolete and reactionary. Jawaharlal was a 'modern' man with an intellectual response to the demands of the modern world. Gandhi was a timeless figure, instinctive in his actions and, in a profound sense, unaware of the complex forces that condition modern societies. Yet, often impatient with Gandhi, Nehru never pressed his views to breaking point. He was content to be a bridge between Gandhi's ideas and those socialist beliefs which he himself held to be true.

Events began to crowd upon Jawaharlal. On the day of his father's death, those Indians who had attended the Round Table Conference in London landed at Bombay. Two days later, some of them arrived at Allahabad, anxious to persuade Gandhi himself to attend the next session. What, they argued, was to be lost by another attempt to come to terms with the viceroy? Gandhi agreed to meet Lord Irwin in Delhi on 17 February. Nehru was not pleased. He felt that the sacrifices that had been made should not be lightly abandoned for a mere discussion from which no one—including Gandhi—expected any worthwhile result. But the talks continued. Gandhi put forward six minimum points—an amnesty, an end to oppressive measures, restitution of property confiscated, reinstatement of government employees dismissed on political grounds, the end of the salt monopoly, and the holding of an inquiry into police actions. To Nehru, these points seemed weak and irrelevant to the central issues; what did the right to manufacture salt have to do with India's cry for freedom? Others too, including Patel, were in favour of stronger and more pertinent demands. But Gandhi was determined upon an agreement, and a draft was finally thrashed out.

To his astonishment, Nehru saw that Clause 2 jeopardized the objective of full independence. 'Was it for this that our people had behaved so gallantly for a year? Were all our brave words and deeds to end in this? The independence resolution of the Congress, the pledge of January 26, so often repeated?



Mahatma Gandhi at the Karachi session of the All-India Congress, 1931

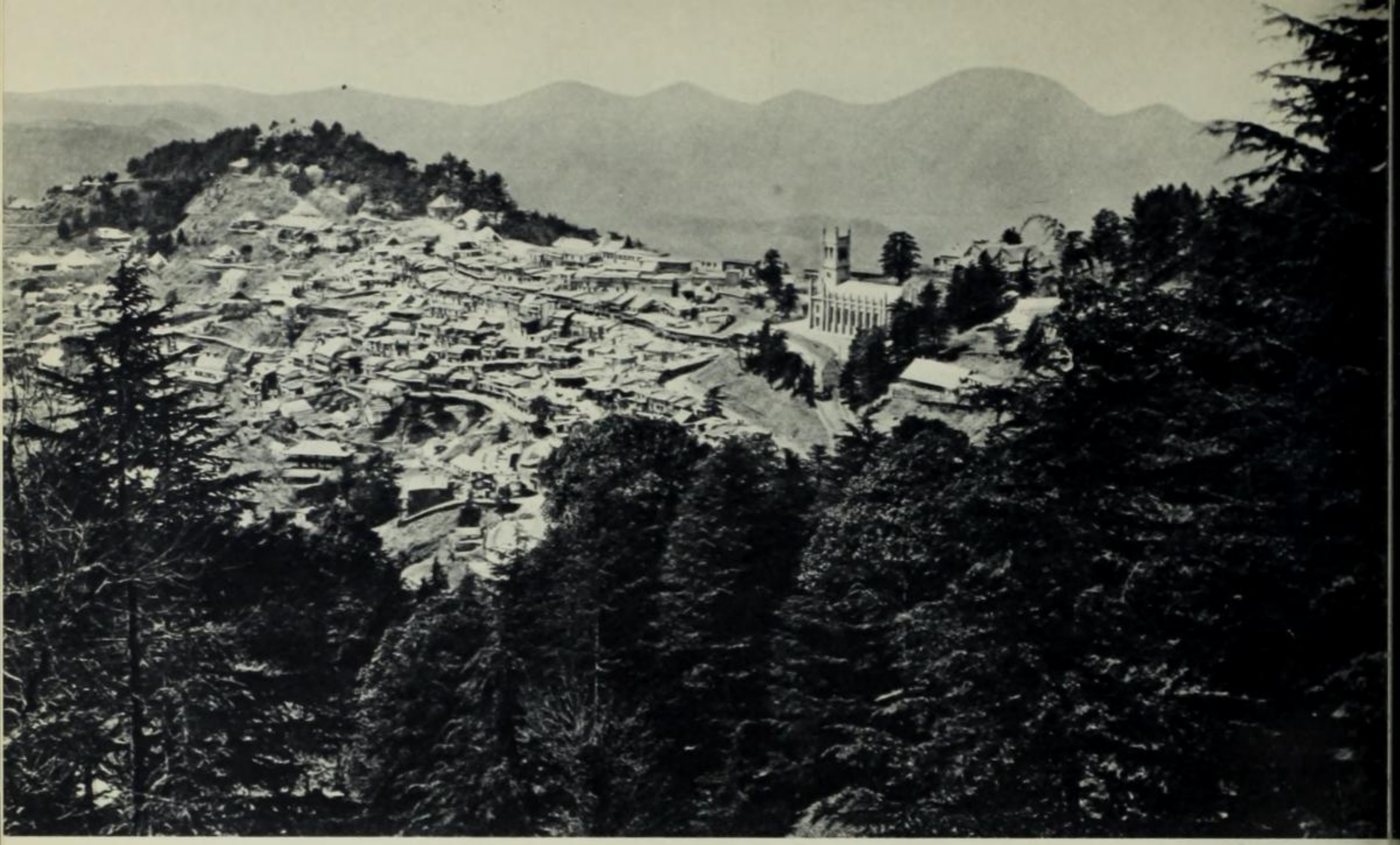
So I lay and pondered on that March night, and in my heart there was a great emptiness as of something precious gone, almost beyond recall.' And he added the famous lines of T. S. Eliot:

This is the way the world ends,
Not with a bang but a whimper.

Gandhi, however, knew how to exert his personality over Jawaharlal. The pact between Irwin and Gandhi was signed.

Though Congress in general resented the agreement, it was not put out by it. British civil servants, however, on their part, felt it was a betrayal of British power. Gandhi summed up his own view: 'For a settlement of this character, it is not possible nor wise to say which is the victorious party. If there is any victory, I should say it belonged to both. The Congress has never made any bid for victory.'

The annual session of Congress now met at Karachi with Patel as president-elect. When Gandhi arrived, he was greeted by a hostile crowd carrying black flags. 'Gandhi', they shouted, 'go back!' But his magnetic personality quietened them and, on 26 March, he addressed a crowd of over fifty thousand. They listened—in silence.



Simla. Summer seat of the government of India under British rule

The resolution accepting the truce was proposed by Jawaharlal! Shrewdly, Gandhi had understood Nehru's ability to compromise and that use might be made of it. There was, in fact, nothing Machiavellian in this. Gandhi had only one aim and that was freedom. But he also knew that freedom could be achieved only with unity—and patience. Jawaharlal's speech was brief. 'One thing is certain,' he declared, 'that we cannot afford to be here or there and do two things at the same time. Because of this, I implore you to decide once and for all. So far, we have decided to abide by Gandhiji, and let us do so until we see the way blocked for further progress.' One question, however, still remained to be answered. Was Gandhi to attend the Round Table Conference?

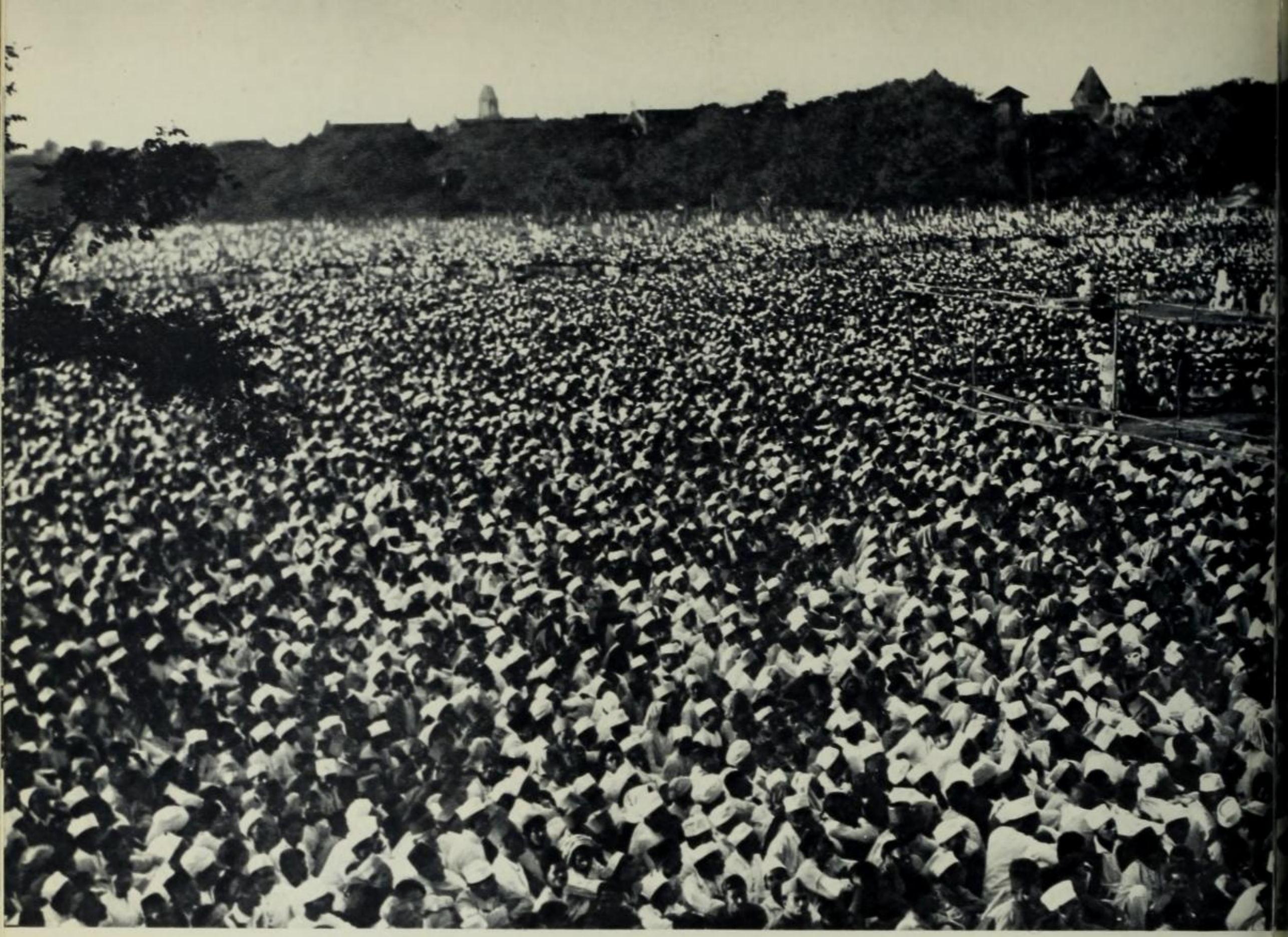
In England, in August 1931, the Labour administration was replaced by a so-called National Government. From London came upsetting reports about the new government's attitude to India. In April, Lord Irwin had relinquished his office. The new viceroy, Lord Willingdon, was inclined to underestimate Gandhi and the strength of Congress. Tensions were increasing throughout the country. Late in August, Gandhi and Willingdon met at Simla, where they were joined by Jawaharlal. An atmosphere of threats hung over the

conversations with British officials—next time Congress tried non-cooperation, the government was prepared to take crushing measures. It was only the hope of a peaceful agreement which had prevented the government from doing so before. In the end, Gandhi decided to go to London. 'I go', he said, 'with God as my only guide.' Jawaharlal saw him off from Bombay on 27 August 1931. It was to be two years before they met again.

In London, Gandhi expected to do no more than put forward the Congress point of view; he anticipated no concessions from the British. The Conference was dominated by the problem of religious minorities, in particular, that of the largest—the Muslims. This session of the conference was the first act of a tragedy—a tragedy that was to lead to the partition of India and the drawing, in 1947, of new frontiers in the blood of a million innocent people. Hindu-Muslim antagonisms were increased, and Gandhi cannot be totally absolved from blame.

In December, Gandhi prepared to leave again for India, where the situation in the countryside had been steadily deteriorating. British officials wanted a showdown. The jobbery and squabbling at Westminster over minorities had had a shaming effect upon Congress. Gandhi had failed, and communal tensions had only worsened. The government in London had blandly announced that if the delegates could not agree, the British would make their own communal awards—devise, in fact, their own scheme for minority electorates.

'Great Soul', or' Naked Fakir'. Gandhi at 10 Downing Street, 1931



Gandhi arrived at Bombay on 28 December 1931, only to be told that Nehru had been arrested once more and that the government had begun repressive measures against nationalist elements. 'Christmas gifts from Lord Willingdon, our Christian viceroy,' was Gandhi's bitter comment.

A Sixth Term

What had caused the government to act? The trouble had again occurred in Nehru's home province. The peasants there were unable to pay their taxes even though they had obtained remissions. Local officials, feeling that taxes had been remitted as a form of surrender to Congress, were prepared to be as hostile as possible. Though Congress did not wish an open conflict with the government, it found itself unable to resist the pleas for action of the Provincial Congress Committee. It did, however, try to negotiate, while at the same time advising the peasants not to attempt to pay their taxes. The government was

Gandhi addresses a meeting in Bombay after his return from London

looking for an excuse to act, but it needed an adequate one. The Provincial Government found it in a meeting at Allahabad which passed a resolution calling for a no-tax campaign if better terms for the peasants could not be negotiated. The government gave itself special powers to detain without trial; so did the governments of Bengal and the North-west Frontier Province. Terrorists now began to attack officials, and a number of revolutionaries were hanged.

In November, Nehru arrived in Calcutta and addressed a number of mass meetings. In private conversations, he tried to convince his listeners that terrorism was wrong. On his last evening in Calcutta he was visited by two young men who turned out to be very angry with him for attacking terrorism. They said he was producing a bad effect on youth and left after warning him

Jawaharlal in Calcutta

that they would deal with him as they had dealt with others if he continued to misbehave. As Nehru lay in his berth in the train leaving Calcutta, he records, 'I was long haunted by the excited faces of these two boys. Full of life and nervous energy they were . . . perhaps I should have convinced them to apply their bright young lives to other ways, ways of serving India and freedom, in which there was no lack of opportunity for daring and self-sacrifice.' He never saw them again.

In early December, Jawaharlal accompanied his wife, who was ill again, to Bombay for medical treatment. There he heard that the U. P. Government had begun arrests. Nehru returned to Allahabad, leaving Kamala bedridden in Bombay. At a station a few miles from Allahabad, Nehru was served with an order interning him within the municipal limits of Allahabad, and one restraining him from addressing or attending public meetings or writing newspaper or other articles. Other members of the Provincial Congress were served with similar orders.

Civil disobedience; a police officer snatches a flag from a woman demonstrator

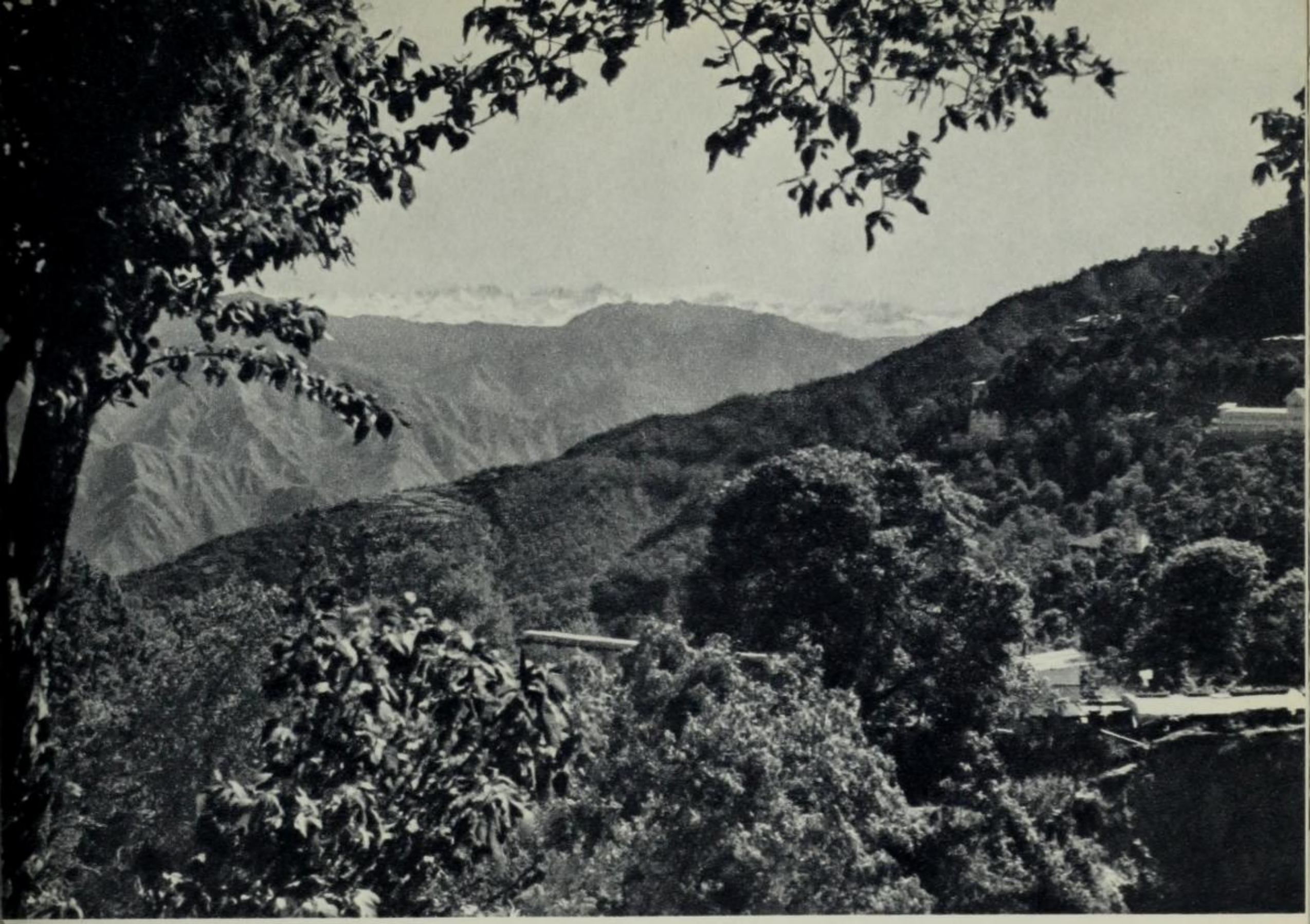
On reaching Allahabad, Nehru acknowledged receipt of the orders to the District Magistrate, informing him that he was not going to take orders from him and that he would return to Bombay to meet Gandhi. On the morning of 26 December, Nehru joined the Bombay train. A few stations away, the train pulled up at a wayside halt. Awaiting it was a police wagon. Nehru was arrested, taken off the train, and found himself, once again, in Naini jail.

On Gandhi's arrival in Bombay, he telegraphed the viceroy asking for a meeting. The viceroy agreed, provided that the new ordinances used to arrest Congress leaders and to justify repression were not discussed. These, of course, were just the matters the Mahatma wished to talk about. Gandhi's reply was to threaten civil disobedience, though he wrote, 'if his Excellency thinks it worth while to see me, the operation of the resolution will be suspended pending our discussion.' The viceroy replied that he would not negotiate under threats. Gandhi indicated that civil disobedience was inevitable. Early next morning, 4 January, he too, was arrested.

Jawaharlal's mother,
Swarup Rani Nehru

On the same day, Nehru was tried at Allahabad, convicted and sentenced to two years. By 10 January 1932, Congress was declared illegal and all leading Congressmen were in jail. Within four months, over eighty thousand persons were detained. Nehru's two sisters were also soon arrested and given each a sentence of one year. The government handed out particularly heavy sentences to women, as much as two years for merely shouting slogans. The administration was making every effort to crush Congress once and for all.

In National Week, in April, great demonstrations took place. In one of these, Nehru's mother was badly injured by police *lathis* though she was not arrested—in fact, a police officer took her, bleeding, to her home in his car. A rumour that she was dead brought rioting and violence. When he heard of his mother's injuries, Nehru was angered and distressed. 'The thought', he wrote, 'of my frail, old mother lying bleeding on the dusty road obsessed me and I wondered how I would have behaved if I had been there. How far would my non-violence have carried me? Not very far, I fear.'



View of the Himalayas from Musoorie near Dehru Dun, where Nehru was imprisoned

About a month later, Nehru was moved to the jail at Bareilly. There, his health gave trouble. After four months of Bareilly, he was moved to Dehra Dun, in the foothills of the Himalayas, where he remained for fourteen and a half months. Outside, the civil disobedience campaign continued. The government seized Swaraj Bhawan and threatened to do the same for Nehru's own home, as Nehru had refused, as his part in the no-tax campaign, to pay the balance owing on his father's income tax.

Prison conditions were harsh. Women political prisoners were herded with the most depraved criminals. The prison guards were also much stricter and more unpleasant to visitors. On hearing that his mother, wife, and daughter had been insulted on a visit to Allahabad jail, Jawaharlal gave up having interviews to avoid the possibility that his mother—who came regularly to visit him at Dehra Dun—might be insulted by warders.

Untouchables, whom Gandhi called 'the children of God'

Arrests continued. Gandhi threatened to fast to the death if the British insisted on creating separate electorates for minorities and, in particular, for the Untouchables. Gandhi felt that, by creating a special group out of the Depressed Classes (as the Untouchables were called by the government), untouchability was actually being reinforced. Despite his threat, the British government announced its own communal award on 17 August 1932, an award which included separate electorates for Untouchables. On 20 September, after another warning, Gandhi began his fast.

When Nehru heard the news, he was at first horrified at the thought that Gandhi might die. Then, he became disappointed—even angry—that the Mahatma should make such a gesture over what was only, in the end, a side issue. What was the point of dying for anything less than freedom? Gandhi 'even seemed to suggest that God had indicated the very day of the fast. What a terrible example to set.' Then he remembered that Gandhi always appeared to make an overwhelming gesture out of apparently small issues—such as the salt-making at Dandi. Was this to be another such?

Dr B. R. Ambedkar,
leader of India's untouchables

On the fifth day of the fast, an agreement was reached between Gandhi and the Untouchable leader, Dr Ambedkar, by which the Depressed Classes would not accept the award of a separate electorate. Nehru still felt that this was only a minor issue and that it diverted attention from the civil disobedience campaign, which had certainly lost its momentum. His belief was confirmed by a statement in the British Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. 'The interest of many Congress leaders', the Secretary of State remarked smugly, 'has now been diverted to Mr Gandhi's campaign against untouchability.' Gandhi began another fast, ended it, then began and ended yet a third.

In August, Nehru was brought from Dehra Dun to Allahabad to finish his sentence. There, he learned that his mother was seriously ill and, on 30 August, the authorities decided to release him because of the seriousness of his mother's condition. In so doing, the government gave him thirteen days' extra remission.

Seclusion and loneliness

This time Nehru was to have five months as well as those extra thirteen days of freedom before once again he was to be confined in, as he put it, 'seclusion and loneliness'. On his release, Nehru hurried to his mother's bedside. His coming cheered her immensely, and slowly she began to recover. His daughter,

GLIMPSES OF
WORLD HISTORY

BEING FURTHER LETTERS TO HIS DAUGHTER,
WRITTEN IN PRISON, AND CONTAINING
A RAMBLING ACCOUNT OF HISTORY
FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

By

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

VOLUME
ONE

ALLAHABAD
KITABISTAN
17-A CITY ROAD

The title page of the
first edition of
Glimpses of World History

Indira, was now sixteen. During his stay in various prisons between 1930 and 1933 he had written her a series of letters to help with her education, which were later published as *Glimpses of World History*. The first letter 'for Indira Priyadarshini on her thirteenth birthday' was written from Naini jail and began:

'On your birthday you have been in the habit of receiving presents and good wishes. Good wishes you will still have in full measure, but what present can I give you from Naini prison? My presents cannot be very material or solid. They can only be of the air and of the mind and spirit, such as a good fairy might have bestowed on you—something that even the high walls of prison cannot stop.'

These letters are a small door into Nehru's mind. They are a triumph over circumstance and are full of the warmth and affection that, imprisoned, he was unable to give his daughter.

But freedom was not to mean a new intimacy with his family. The call of duty was still clear. Nehru went off to see Gandhi. The two men, so different in their make-up, discussed policy. Gandhi, Nehru felt, for all the sureness of his belief was not sure what to do next. More civil disobedience? Or the

The viceroy,
Lord Willingdon, in 1931

Untouchable campaign? Should he withdraw from Congress? This latter certainly must not be allowed. It was decided that Gandhi should continue his campaign and not offer individual civil disobedience.

To Nehru, returning from the seclusion and isolation of prison, India seemed exhausted—with an exhaustion brought about by repression; 'brutalization' is how he described it. The British had even re-introduced the awful spectacle of public hanging in Sind. Nehru felt that this was merely another facet of the new contempt that British officials held for Indians, whether nationalists or not. Nehru, with the image of Nazi-ism in Europe in view, saw in the threatening speeches of British businessmen 'a very decided fascist tendency'. He did not want to go back to prison but he felt instinctively that the days of his freedom were numbered. Before he went, there were certain matters that must be attended to.

There were meetings of the Provincial Congress Committee—unofficial ones, for Congress was still an illegal organization. At these meetings, Nehru was convinced that what he had felt on coming out of jail was true—the nationalist movement was no longer moving. Government action had produced an impasse and civil disobedience was no longer possible. Nehru contented himself with plans for the future. The Provincial Congress accepted Socialism as their economic objective, though it is open to doubt whether the majority of the members knew what socialism meant.

Nehru took time to organize his thoughts about the future and the objectives of independence. He talked and wrote about the structure of the future, attacking communalism as reactionary and outlining his views on the need for a Constituent Assembly that would attempt to bring conflicting interests together peaceably.

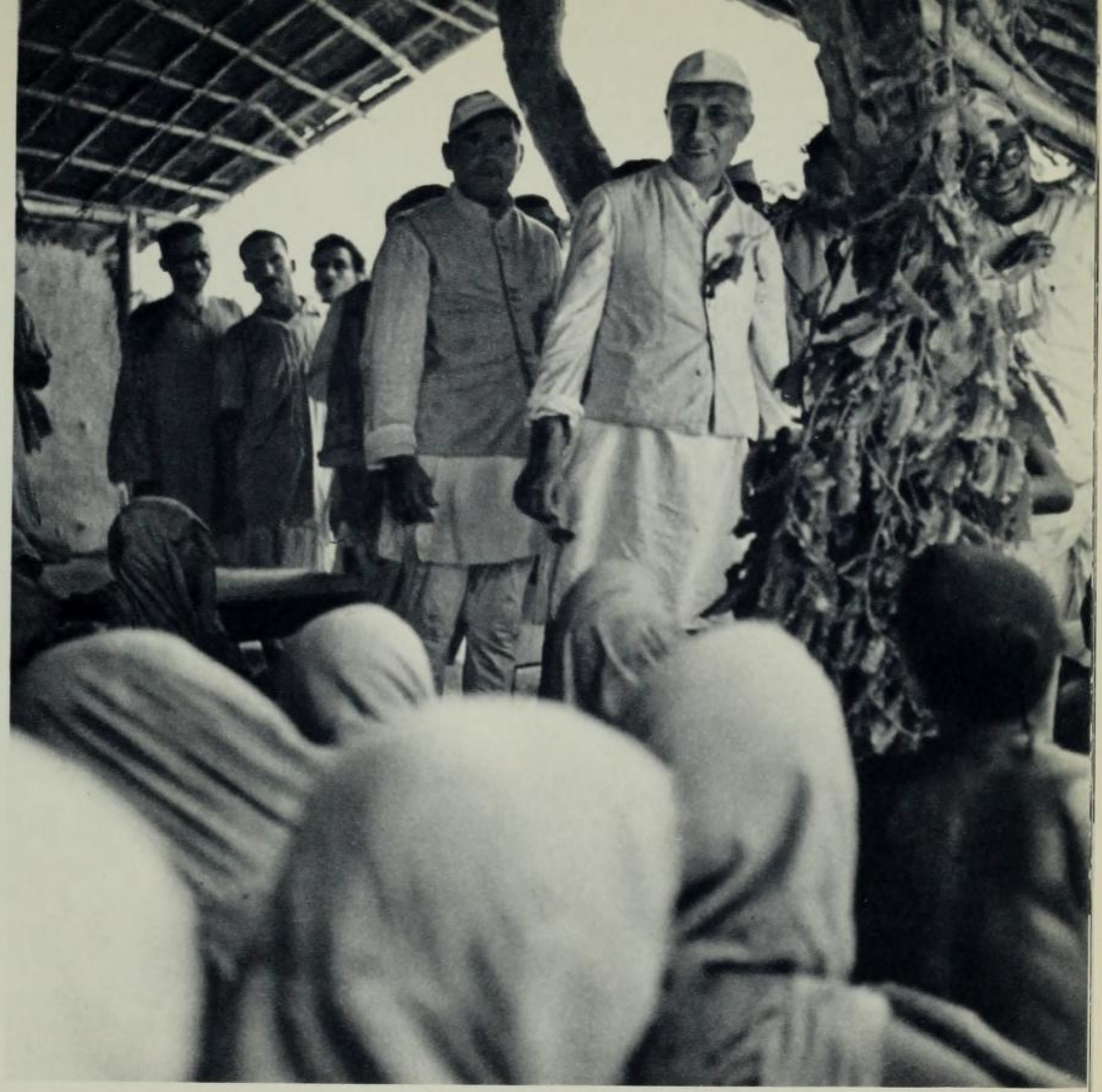
Meanwhile Gandhi, touring the country on his Untouchable campaign, was drawing vast crowds. He seemed quite happy to do this and to let the nationalist movement mark time whilst he did so. In a speech in December, Gandhi indirectly attacked Nehru's socialist ideas and, because of this, Jawaharlal contemplated resigning from the Congress Working Committee.

In January 1934, Congress was still an illegal organization. How was it to celebrate Independence Day? If it did so defiantly, a wave of arrests would follow. Jawaharlal was planning to leave for Calcutta with his wife, to see her doctors. Before he left Allahabad, he issued a brief appeal that Independence Day should be celebrated, but left the arrangements to local Congress branches. Allahabad was to have widespread celebrations all over the district. Nehru felt that after these he, and many others, would certainly be arrested. He would, therefore, visit Calcutta and return to Allahabad in time for Independence Day.

On the day they left Allahabad, an earth tremor shook the city. The epicentre of the shock was in the state of Bihar in north-east India, where towns and villages were destroyed and over a million homes damaged. The area covered by the devastation was some thirty thousand square miles, which had a population of about ten million people. After returning to Allahabad to start a fund-raising campaign, Nehru went back to the stricken area. He was horrified by what he saw and vocally critical of the government's relief work. While he was in Bihar he read 'with a great shock' that Gandhi had greeted the earthquake as an act of punishment for the sin of untouchability. 'This was a staggering remark,' Nehru wrote later. ' . . . To suggest that a human custom or failing had its reaction on the movement of the earth's crust is an astounding thing.' Such statements, he felt, took humanity 'back a few hundred years, when the Inquisition flourished in Europe' and scientists were burnt as heretics.

On 11 February, Jawaharlal returned to Allahabad, so 'dead tired' that while writing his report he fell asleep. The next afternoon, just after tea, a police car drew up outside the house. 'I have been waiting for you for a long time', said Nehru to the police officer who had arrived in it. The warrant, it seemed, had been issued in Calcutta. That night Nehru was taken from Allahabad to the capital of Bengal. Four days later he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and removed to Alipore Jail, and a tiny cell.

In prison, the news from outside depressed him. Fascism was arrogantly strutting the European stage. Japan was well on the way to attacking China.



Famine in Bihar.
Jawaharlal talks
to the peasants

In India, stalemate still prevailed. A meeting of Congressmen at Delhi called for the revival of Motilal's old Swaraj Party to contest the elections of November 1934. In April the protagonists of the new policy went to see Gandhi at Patna, where he had gone in an endeavour to help the earthquake relief organization. Gandhi had already decided to abandon civil disobedience; he approved of the move to contest the seats in the legislatures and called for Congressmen to engage in 'nation building' activities—the removal of untouchability, the spread of communal unity and, inevitably, hand-spinning.

Jawaharlal heard of Gandhi's decision from a casual remark of the jail superintendent. 'The news was not welcome.' Again he believed that Gandhi's instinct for the right action at the right time was at work, but the reasons he gave seemed irrelevant—more, 'an insult to the intelligence and an amazing performance for a leader of a national movement'. Jawaharlal felt cut away

The two nations:
the palace of
the Maharana of Udaipur

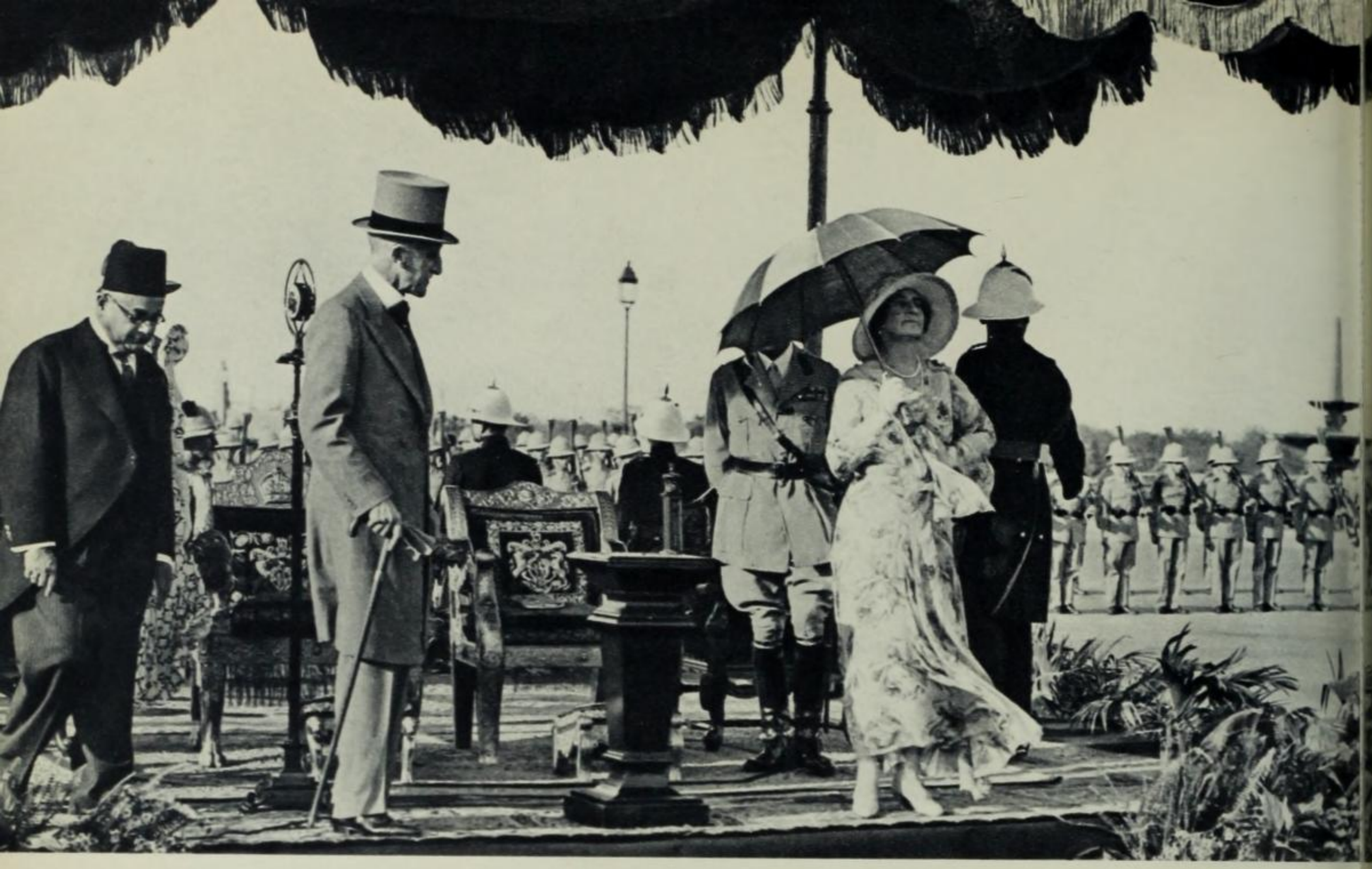
from Gandhi. 'Suddenly', he wrote later, 'I felt very lonely in that cell at Alipore Jail. Life seemed to be a dreary affair, a very wilderness of desolation. Of the many hard lessons that I have learnt, the hardest and most painful now faced me; that it is not possible in any vital matter to rely on anyone. One must journey through life alone; to rely on others is to invite heartbreak.' It was the beginning of self-centredness, of his belief in the concentration of power—two of the characteristics which were to receive most criticism when he became prime minister of India.

In the midst of his depression, Kamala came to see him. Her visit cheered him immensely. But his health was giving him trouble and he had lost a great deal of weight. On 7 May he was transferred to Dehra Dun. He was pleased, for he would be able to see the mountains again—and be near Kamala. But the jail had changed since his last stay some nine months before. An old cattle-shed had been cleared out for his reception. He could not see the hills because of a fifteen-foot wall. Worst of all, he was in solitary confinement.

The two nations: an Indian village

Two things worried him deeply—Kamala's illness, and political events. He had begun to realize how serious his wife's condition was, and he 'felt helpless and unable to be of any service to her'. He was aware of political events because now he was allowed a daily paper. The government had allowed the All-India Congress to meet and from the meeting two new groups had emerged—one planning to enter the legislatures, the other trying to create a Socialist Party. In between was a section headed by Gandhi, who forced his views upon Congress; civil disobedience was suspended and Congress *would* contest the elections.

Nehru felt that Gandhi was becoming too dictatorial. Moderate elements, with all the inertia of moderates, seemed now to be in control. Congress was becoming respectable, and many new faces appeared in the ranks of its leadership, people who had never dared to join when the movement was militant. Nehru was greatly saddened by what he believed to be a weakening of the nationalist cause. The Working Committee even came out with an attack on socialism. 'The Working Committee', it noted, 'is further of the opinion that confiscation and class-warfare are contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence.' Socialism was branded as wishing to confiscate private property.



Lord Willingdon unveils the statue to his predecessor Lord Irwin, 1934

In June 1934, Nehru began to write his autobiography in an endeavour to distract his mind from political and personal worries. Kamala's health was growing increasingly worse. In August 1934 Nehru was taken to Allahabad and conditionally released in order to be with his wife. Kamala he found very weak and frail, and he began to realize that she was dying. 'The thought', he wrote, 'that she might leave me became an intolerable obsession.' His mother was also ill in the house. Uncertainty about when he would be taken back to jail added to the tension. He wrote a long letter to Gandhi bursting with the emotions that had been suppressed in prison. On the eleventh day of his freedom, a police car came to take him back to prison. 'I bade goodbye to my people. As I was getting into the police car my ailing mother ran up again to me, her arms outstretched. That face of hers haunted me for long.'

Jawaharlal was not taken back to Dehra Dun but to the Naini jail in Allahabad, so that he could be near his wife. For two weeks he received medical bulletins, then they ceased. A month later he was taken to visit his wife and promised that he would be able to do so twice a week on specific days, but when

Scene in the Himalayan foothills, Almora

those days came nothing happened, and it was not until early in October that he was taken to see Kamala again. Before he went, suggestions were made to him by various people that if he agreed to keep out of politics for the remainder of his prison sentence, he would be released. This placed him in a terrible predicament. Kamala, when he saw her, was very ill and in a dazed condition, but when he was leaving she whispered: 'What is this about your giving an assurance to the government? Do not give it!'

Kamala was now moved to a sanatorium in the hills at Bhowali. Jawaharlal saw her before she left—she looked bright and cheerful and because of this he felt happier than he had been for a long time. Three weeks later he himself was moved to Almora Jail to be near her. There, on a misty ridge facing the peaks of the Himalayas, he was given a 'lordly barrack' to live in—a dilapidated and chilly hall, fifty-one feet by seventeen.

The viceroy greets an Indian prince

Outside, Congress had met in October at Bombay. Gandhi announced his retirement because he had failed to persuade Congress to change its creed to 'truthful and non-violent' methods instead of 'peaceful and legitimate'. Nehru knew that the 'retirement' meant nothing at all. Gandhi could never rid himself of Congress, for his position was a dominating one; the movement was a reflection of his own complex personality.

In November 1934 came the elections. Congress won forty-four of the one hundred and thirty-seven seats. With other nationalist groups it could muster a majority against supporters of the government *and* the nominated members. Nehru was anxious to be out in the world. But it was obvious that the government had no intention of releasing him. On 14 November he spent a second birthday in jail. He was now forty-five years old.

Mahatma Gandhi
and his followers

Approximately every third week he was taken to visit his wife until, in May 1935, she left for Europe for treatment. In January his mother had suffered a paralytic stroke but slowly recovered. After Kamala had gone, Nehru, deprived of his occasional visits, found prison life particularly wearing until, quite unexpectedly, on 4 September 1935, four and half months before the end of his sentence, he was released. By then, Kamala was critically ill at Badenweiler in Germany. Five days later, after a long air journey, Jawaharlal was by her side.

After about a month, Kamala was revived enough to make a short visit to London, and while they were there, Jawaharlal was nominated president-elect of Congress for 1936–37. It was eight years since he had last been in England and he was welcomed even by those who disagreed with his politics.

Italian troops on their way to Abyssinia

Indeed, he thought he almost sensed 'a vague pricking of conscience' about India. But he also found an indifference, a boredom with Indian affairs. The recommendations of the Round Table Conference had finally produced constitutional changes foreshadowed in the Government of India Act of 1935 which was to come into force in 1937. Why did not Congress co-operate and take these reforms as one step nearer to their goal? Nehru felt that only some great cataclysm—a revolt in India or a world war—could shake Britain's apathy towards the course of India's freedom. In 1935, war was nearer than anyone thought possible.

Lake Geneva

At the end of January, Kamala was moved to a sanatorium near Lausanne. Though she was no better, she was also no worse. The doctors felt hopeful of some progress, and Jawaharlal—on Kamala's insistence—decided to return to India by air on 28 February 1936. But Kamala quite inexplicably seemed uneasy. A few days before Jawaharlal was due to leave, her doctor urged him to stay for a further week or ten days. Their daughter, Indira, was also in Lausanne on a visit from her school. Soon it became obvious that Kamala was dying and, early on the morning of 28 February, with Jawaharlal and Indira at her bedside, Kamala died peacefully. Her body was cremated, and the ashes placed in an urn to be taken back to India.

On the journey home Jawaharlal felt overwhelmingly lonely. When the plane landed in Baghdad he sent a cable to the publishers in London who had accepted the manuscript of his autobiography. The cable contained the dedication for the book—'To Kamala, who is no more'.

Along the road to war

On the way home Nehru had managed to avoid a personal interview with Mussolini who wished, so he said, to convey his condolences on the death of Kamala. The Duce had been insistent, but he found that Nehru was inflexibly against such a meeting with a fascist dictator. Nehru saw, in Fascism and Nazism, all the imperialist and racialist tendencies that he so detested in the

Forty-two hill pheasants in one day; the viceroy goes shooting

British intensified, brutalized, and evil. If, however, Britain would change her policy in India, then they could come together to fight fascism. This view was to become official Congress policy during the coming war.

The India Nehru returned to in 1936 seemed once again in the grip of reaction. The government was in absolute control, communal tensions were rife, Congress activity had unwound. The provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 were to come into operation on 1 April 1937 and popularly elected legislatures were to function both at the Centre and in the Provinces. But behind this façade, real power, the power to veto legislation or to rule by decree, still lay with the provincial governors and the viceroy.

In 1936, Congress was concentrating on winning the elections for the Provincial Assemblies. Nehru felt that Congress should fight the elections but that no Congressman elected should take his seat. But the majority of the leaders of Congress were not willing to take such an uncompromising stand. In his presidential address, Nehru declared 'we have largely lost touch with the masses. Congress membership stands at below half a million.' By contesting the elections he believed they could once again resume touch with the people.

'The Sentinel of the East'

For Nehru, this vital session was a disappointment. The old guard, coached and encouraged by Gandhi, who (though he had resigned from Congress) was still very much in evidence both in person and in influence, dominated the new Working Committee. Out of the fifteen members, ten represented the old guard. Jawaharlal was the captive of obsolete ideas inside Congress. But *outside*, his was still a name to arouse enthusiasm. Outside, he could—and would—still preach his belief in a socialist state.

Prison and the death of Kamala had both helped to increase his leaning towards introspection, to walking, at least intellectually, alone. In a pseudonymous article published about this time, he analysed his own character and looked into the future. 'In normal times', he wrote, 'he would just be an efficient and successful executive, but in this revolutionary epoch Caesarism is always at the door, and is it not possible that Jawaharlal might fancy himself a Caesar? Therein lies the danger for Jawaharlal and India.'

He continued his crusade for socialism. It was rumoured that he and Gandhi were no longer in accord. Gandhi was alleged to have said: 'My life-work is being ruined by Jawaharlal's utterances.' Gandhi was quick to deny this, but many conservatives in Congress were disturbed by Nehru's socialist zeal. Nehru planned to resign from the presidency in order to devote himself to the coming election campaign, and the conservative nominee for his place was Vallabhbhai Patel. But Gandhi did not want Nehru to resign and, after discussions, Patel withdrew, warning Jawaharlal that he was in conflict with him on many issues and advising him to moderate his views. Nehru, however, still clung to his belief that when Congress entered the legislature it should not be to co-operate with the government but to fight the provisions of the 1935 Act. Congress put off the decision until after the elections. When these took place Congress was overwhelmingly successful—out of a total of 1,585 seats, of which only 657 were open to general competition (the remainder being reserved for minorities) Congress won seven hundred and fifteen. At this election, Jinnah emerged as head of the Muslim League; he still believed that

Indians go to the polls

A viceregal garden party, 1939

co-operation between Congress and the League was possible, but the next ten years were to divide for ever Muslim and Hindu, and to lead to the partition of India. Differences there had always been, but these were not, in essence, irreconcilable. They were, however, soon to be buttressed by fear and conflict.

When the time came to form ministries, Congress refused to do so without assurances that there would be no interference, by governors or the viceroy. The negotiations to this end continued until in June 1937 the viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, issued a statement accepting a suggestion of Gandhi's that 'it is only when the issue between a governor and his minister constitutes a serious disagreement that any question of the severing of their partnership need arise'. A very vague statement indeed, but acceptable to Congress. Shortly afterwards Congress ministries were formed in Bombay, Madras, and Orissa. Later, governments were formed in Assam and in the North-west Frontier Province. These ministries remained in office until November 1939.

Nehru was not happy over the decision to take office, and attacked right-wing Congressmen for their acceptance of ministerial posts. However, he bowed to

India's age-old means of transport: the bullock cart

the majority decision, although maintaining that it did not entail accepting a 'slave constitution'. Congress must remain vigilant, and the true objective must never be forgotten. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' he declared.

While all this was going on, Nehru was touring the Indian countryside, discovering new layers of that Indian life which was, he reflected, 'like some ancient palimpsest'. Everywhere he addressed meetings, sometimes made up of small groups, sometimes of many thousands. He talked of poverty and hope and always of India, of something bigger than the narrow confines of village

Jawaharlal and
Subhas Chandra Bose
in Calcutta, 1937

life. He found that the new Provincial governments, even though they had little real power, were accepted as a new and exciting symbol of change. But concentration on provincial autonomy had diverted nationalist endeavour into local rather than all-Indian channels. By accepting office, Congress became enmeshed in local, rather than national, affairs. In those Provinces where Congress had no majority, it refused to form a coalition with the Muslim League. Jinnah became even more convinced than he had been before that Congress despised the League, and was able to declare that Congress rule meant Hindu domination. Congress leaders, with tactless arrogance, seemed to support his contention.

Meanwhile the world outside India moved rapidly to the edge of war. Jawaharlal was worried and depressed. In 1938 his mother had died, and this had lowered his spirits. In the summer he had been invited to Nazi Germany and had refused the invitation. But he made a trip to Czechoslovakia and Spain instead. He arrived in Barcelona in June, when Spain was caught in the tragedy of the civil war, a war used by the fascists of Germany and Italy as a

Jawaharlal and his daughter Indira, in London, 1938

testing ground for their arms and aircraft; a rehearsal for the world war that was to come. Nehru was invigorated by the spirit of the Republican forces and it seemed to him that they might win. In London and Paris he addressed meetings on behalf of the Republic. He visited Geneva, Prague and the Sudetenland. In conversations with leading British statesmen, however, he met with evasion. Britain, he felt, had a pro-fascist government. In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* he pointed out that India resented British foreign policy. His letter was, in fact, an argument for Indian independence. 'The people of India', he declared, 'have no intention of submitting to any foreign decision on war. They alone can decide and certainly will not accept the dictation of the British government, which they distrust utterly.' Here he foreshadowed the Congress attitude when war actually broke out a year later. All the ministries then resigned in protest against Britain's unilateral involvement of India in the war against Germany.

Nehru returned to India two months after the betrayal of Czechoslovakia at Munich. When war broke out on 3 September 1939, Nehru was in China. Hurriedly he returned to India—to find it committed to war. The viceroy, without consulting Indian leaders or the so-called 'responsible' legislatures, had declared war on Germany. Britain had stated that she was fighting for democracy and freedom—'whose freedom?' Nehru asked. At a meeting of the Working Committee held on 14 September, Nehru exerted great influence on the form of the Congress resolution on the war. Gandhi had made it clear that, if any support was to be given to the British, it must be given unconditionally and be of a non-violent nature. Nehru could not accept this—non-violence was not of much purpose against the aggression of modern war. India *should* certainly support Britain against fascism, but she could only do so of her own free choice—as a free nation.

The resolution maintained that, if Britain was fighting for democracy and a world order based upon it, then she must end her undemocratic occupation of India and give to the Indian people the right of self-determination. Congress attempted to negotiate with the viceroy, but his (and the British government's) view was that the time was not suitable for pressing claims for Indian freedom. Discussions took place but without result; the government declared that any

Famine. Lord Linlithgow examines public works

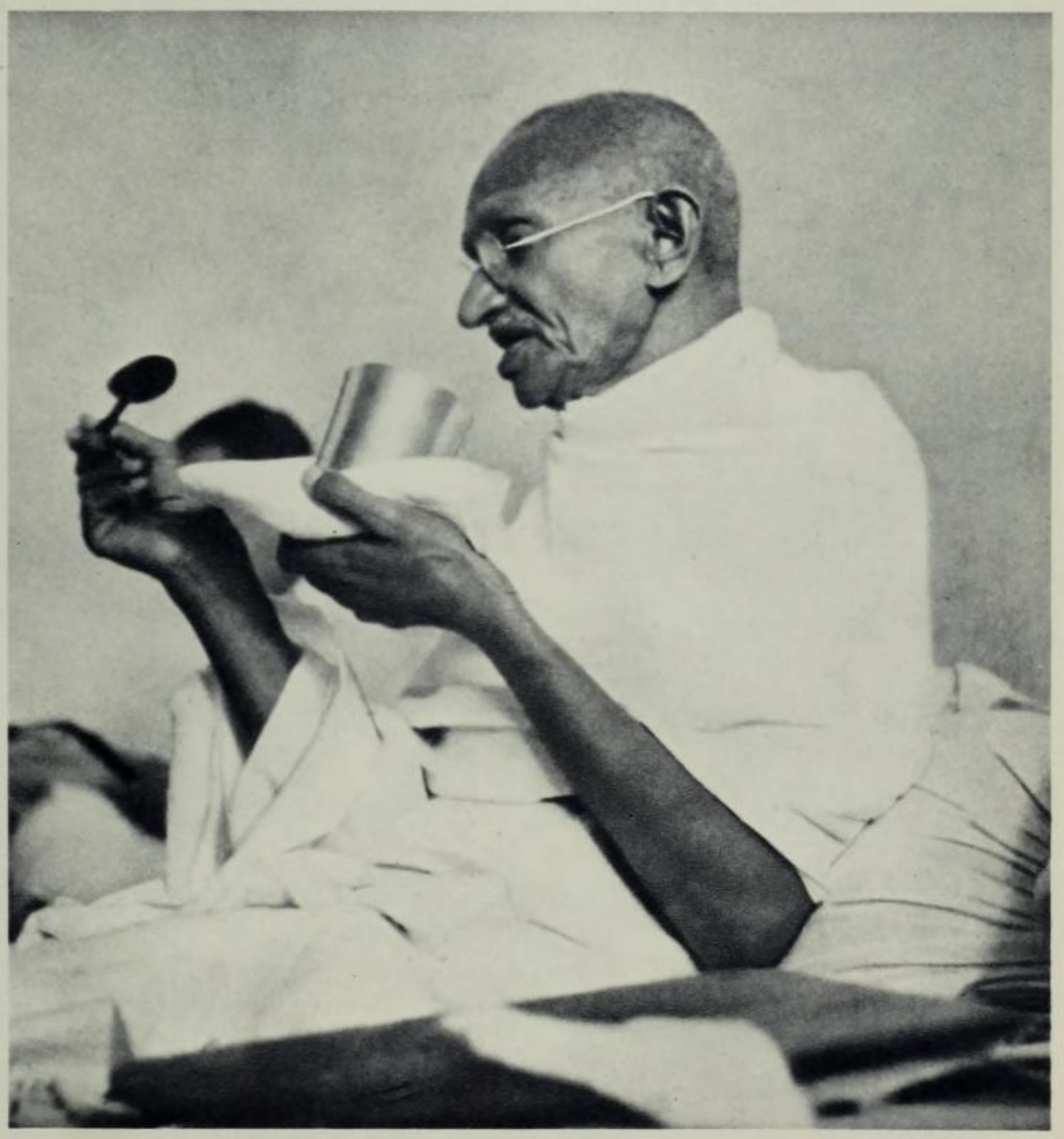
Jawaharlal as President of Congress rides through the streets of Ludhiana, 1939

further political advance was impossible without communal agreement—and the princes and Muslims, both frightened by Congress, were used to counter Congress demands. Foolishly, Congress decided to withdraw from the Provincial ministries. This was certainly to the advantage of the British and certainly to the satisfaction of Jinnah, who called for Muslims to celebrate 22 December 1939 as a day of deliverance; 'democracy', he stated, 'can only mean Hindu *Raj* (rule) all over India.' In March 1940, Jinah declared at Lahore that a separate Muslim state was now the aim of the League. 'No power on earth', he maintained, 'can prevent Pakistan.'

Towards the British, the attitude of Congress was still ambivalent. The war against Germany was a just war and Britain's effort should not be impeded. Civil disobedience was decided upon in March 1940, but no step was made to implement the decision. Congress was waiting for the government's reaction. When, two months later, Hitler's blitzkrieg left Britain without allies in Europe, Congress decided it was impossible to take advantage of her perilous situation. Some could not accept this gentlemanly proceeding; one, Subhas Bose, was soon to leave for Berlin. Britain's hour of peril, he felt, was India's day of opportunity.

In July, Congress called for the establishment of a National Government as a token recognition of Indian freedom. The legal reality of independence could wait. If their request was granted, Congress would co-operate fully in the war effort. The answer was an offer by the viceroy to allow a number of Indians into his Executive Council. No decision, he stated, could be made on constitutional issues until after the war. Nehru, though he had misgivings about the Congress offer, had not expected such an irrelevant response from the British.

Under the circumstances, Congress could no longer remain passive. Gandhi had withdrawn from Congress when his views had been overruled. Now Congress must return to Gandhi. On 18 August the call went out to the people not to cooperate with the war effort in any way. Discussions took place with the viceroy and Gandhi found him 'all courtesy' but nothing else. The

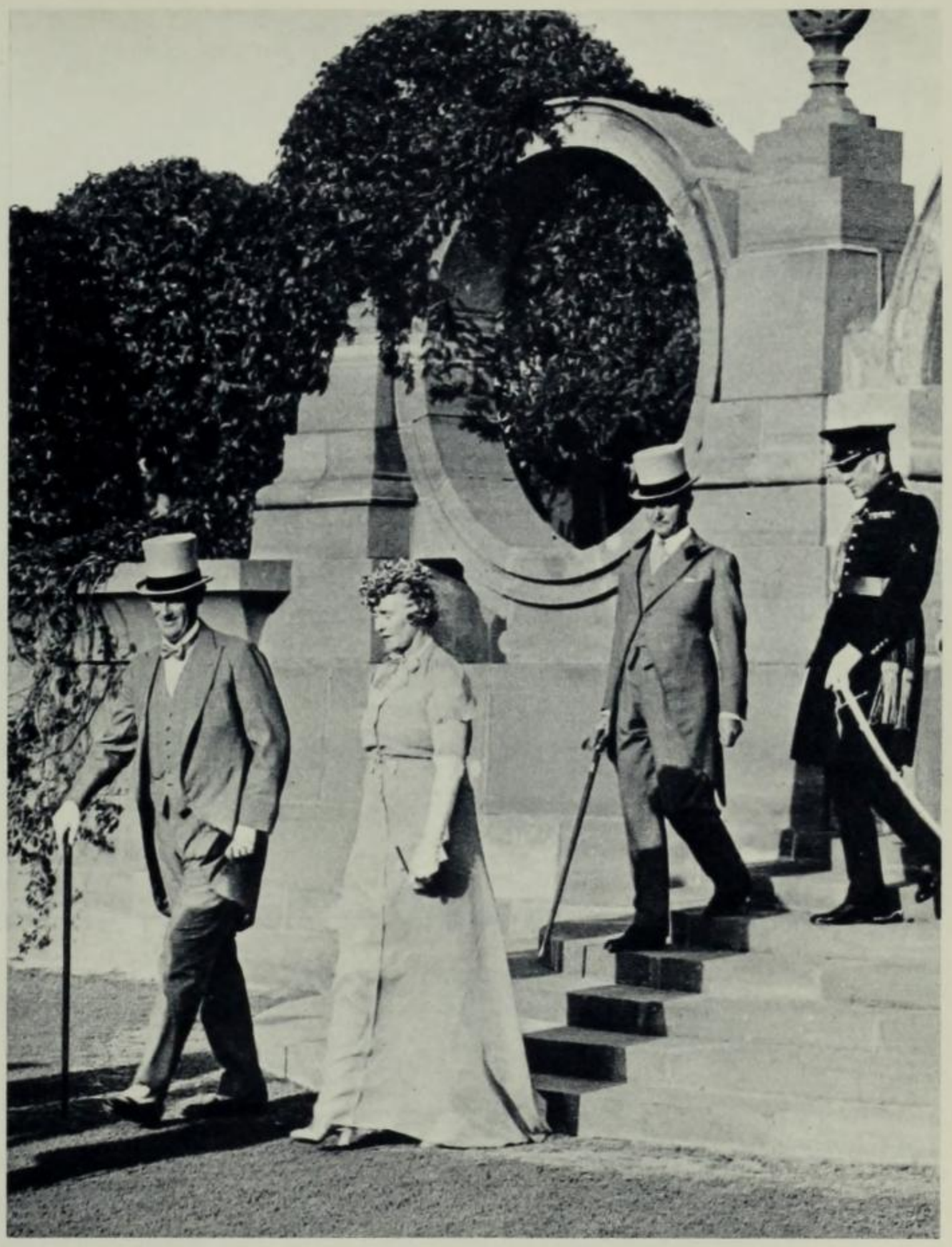


The Mahatma begins a fast, 1939

decision was taken for individual civil disobedience. The first act was made by Vinoba Bhave, who later, after independence, was to lead a land-gift movement. On 17 October 1940, he made an anti-war speech and was arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. In a little over a year he was followed into prison by some thirty thousand others. By the end of 1940, eleven members of the Congress Working Committee, including Nehru, one hundred and seventy-six members of the All-India Congress Committee, twenty-nine former ministers, and over four hundred members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies were imprisoned.

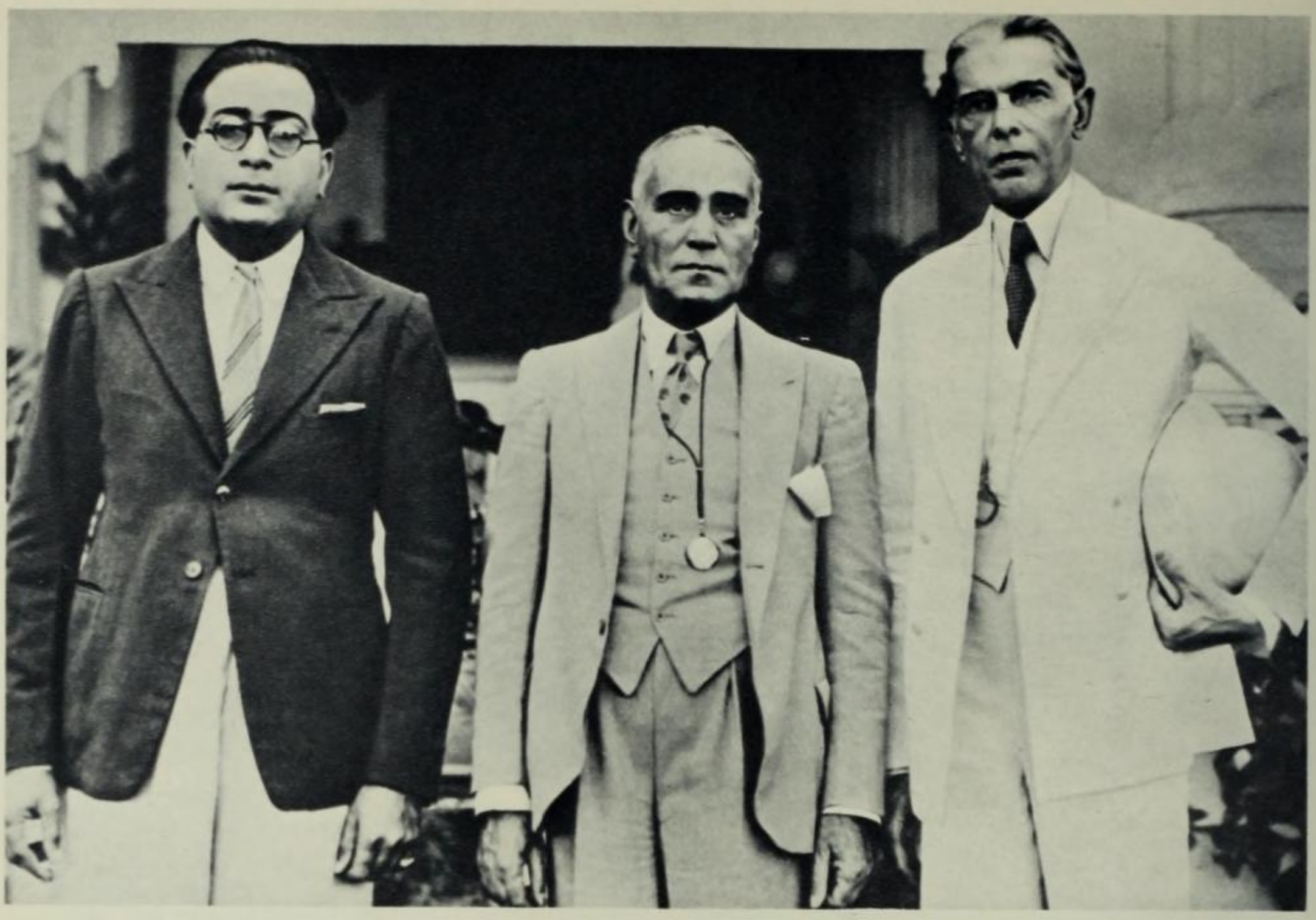
Nehru had intended to offer civil disobedience at Allahabad on 7 November but was arrested beforehand, tried, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. In his statement, he said: 'It is a small matter what happens to me in this trial or subsequently. Individuals count for little; they come and go, as I shall go when my time is up. Seven times I have been tried and convicted by British authority in India, and many years of my life lie buried within prison walls. An eighth time or a ninth, and a few more years, make little difference.' On 4 December 1941, three days before Pearl Harbour, he was released under an amnesty.

Gandhi in Bombay with Jawaharlal and Vallabhbhai Patel, 1939



1940. Unruffled, the viceroy leaves for a garden party

The political atmosphere in India had now acquired a new tension. Events in Europe had held a certain remoteness for Indians but, in a few months, fascism in its Japanese form was to be at the very frontiers of India. In March 1942 the Japanese entered Burma and, three days after the capture of Rangoon, the British prime minister, Winston Churchill (a rabid opponent of India's desire for independence), announced that a Cabinet Minister, the socialist Sir Stafford Cripps, was to go to India with a new 'plan'. Unfortunately, this was rather of the 'take-it-or-leave-it' variety, which allowed for no amendments or compromise. The British government agreed to grant Dominion status, after



'The key to Indian freedom'. Jinnah (*right*) with Muslim leaders

the war, and that an India Constituent Assembly should draw up the new constitution. This seemed to go a long way towards satisfying Congress demands, but there was a proviso that individual Provinces could, if they wished, secede from the new Dominion. Jinnah, it seemed, was to get his Pakistan. In the meantime, although the viceroy's Executive Council would be enlarged, his own powers were not to be diminished. In the end all parties, including the Muslim League, rejected the plan.

As Cripps was preparing to leave, however, Nehru called upon the Indian people to fight the Japanese should they invade the country. 'We are not going to surrender to the invader,' he declared. 'In spite of all that has happened, we are not going to embarrass the British war effort in India.'

But the failure of the Cripps mission had released a great spring of indignation. Gandhi again called for non-violent non-cooperation and Nehru gave in. It was now Gandhi who took the lead. In May, he called for the British

The fall of Singapore.
British troops being led off
to a Japanese prison camp

The Cripps mission, 1942

Women students arrested for picketing the Legislative Assembly

to 'Quit India'. The government, in considerable fear of a Japanese invasion, had become not unnaturally jumpy. 'It seemed', remarked Nehru, 'as if the civilian administration of India was suffering from a nervous breakdown.' In May he went to the foothills of the Himalayas, to Kulu, trekking and climbing through the valleys.

On his return to Allahabad he found that the government had begun a wave of arrests. Nehru was disturbed—he knew that the only effective action left to Congress was mass civil disobedience, and yet this would hamper the war against fascism. Gandhi seemed unaware of this, ignoring India's peril for narrow nationalistic reasons. In conversations between the two men Gandhi

accepted the criticism and modified his speeches, but he would not compromise on the call to action.

On 6 July, the Working Committee met at Wardha and once again called for a provisional National Government. If this was not granted, mass action would be called for. On 7 August 1942 the All-India Congress Committee met to discuss the resolution. It was, Nehru explained, 'in no sense a challenge to anyone. If the British government accepts the proposal it will change the position for the better, both internal and international, from every point of view.' Gandhi believed that a settlement was possible. 'After my speech of last night,' he said on 9 August, 'they will never arrest me.' He was wrong—an hour later he was taken into custody. At the same time, the other members of the Working Committee (including Nehru) were also arrested; Nehru was asleep when the police came for him at dawn.

Gandhi was taken to a house owned by the Aga Khan near Poona. Nehru was removed to Ahmadnagar Fort, some two hundred miles from Bombay. It was to be Jawaharlal's longest stay in detention, for he was not to be released until 15 June 1945.

This final imprisonment was a new experience for Jawaharlal, for instead of being isolated from his colleagues as before, here in Ahmadnagar they were all

Before the arrest; Gandhi and Nehru in Bombay, 1942

Behind bars; Jawaharlal and Ranjit Pandit

together. Life was drab, but there were constant discussions, and gardening! For about three weeks, the prisoners were deprived of newspapers, but then the restrictions were relaxed. Jawaharlal spent his time tending the garden, reading and, in April 1944, he began to write a book, *The Discovery of India,* which he completed five months later.

Outside, though there had been peaceful meetings and demonstrations, mob violence had also broken out. Many people were killed, ten thousand being the unofficial estimate. By the end of 1942 over sixty thousand people were under arrest. Damage caused by the rioting was extensive; post offices, police stations and government buildings had been destroyed. Telegraph wires were continually being cut. The British responded with a heavy hand. At one place, crowds were machine-gunned from the air. Collective fines were imposed on towns and villages to a total of nine million rupees. By January 1943 an exhausted peace had descended upon India.

Unknown to Nehru, Gandhi had been in contact with the viceroy by letter but with no result. On 9 February 1943, he began a twenty-one-day fast. The viceroy was unmoved and described the fast as 'political blackmail'. The day before the fast began the government offered to release Gandhi temporarily, but the offer was declined. Nehru, when he heard of the fast on 11 February, found it mystifying.

After the arrest of Gandhi, police break up a meeting with tear gas

In Bombay, a tramcar gutted by fire

Famine in Calcutta. The viceroy, Lord Wavell, visits a food kitchen

In September, Lord Linlithgow was replaced as viceroy by Lord Wavell. Linlithgow left behind him a terrible legacy—the Bengal famine which claimed nearly three and a half million lives. The authorities had, for a while, denied that there *was* any famine, but, as Nehru drily put it, 'corpses cannot be easily overlooked'. The inefficiency and complacency of the government was largely responsible for the food shortage.

On 5 May 1944 Gandhi was released because of ill-health, but the rest of the Congress leaders still remained in prison. Outside, the tempo of the war was changing. It was now the turn of the Allies to be successful and everywhere they were advancing. What was going to be Britain's attitude to India after the war? Winston Churchill had declared that he had no intention of liquidating the British Empire and even Labour leaders seemed to be of the

Simla, 1945. Gandhi leaves to visit the viceroy

same opinion. Gandhi attempted to make contact with the viceroy—and was rebuffed. He then tried to come to some agreement with Jinnah, the Muslim leader. But here there was no common ground. After discussions between the two men, Gandhi said 'the talks and correspondence seem to run on parallel lines, and never touch one another'. Nehru was not surprised at the lack of results. Congress was negotiating from weakness—and Jinnah, and the British, knew it.

During March and April 1945, as the war in Europe was coming to an end, the Congress leaders interned at Ahmadnagar were sent back to their home Provinces prior to their release. Nehru was sent to Naini, then to a jail near Bareilly, and finally to Almora where he had been imprisoned ten years before.

Simla, 1945.
Jawaharlal
addresses a crowd

In Britain, in the last week of May, a general election was announced. The British Labour Party immediately made clear that, should it be elected to power, India would get Dominion status. Events began to move with great speed. In June, a new offer was made by Britain's war-time government. The viceroy's Executive Council was, apart from the viceroy and the commander-in-chief, to be entirely Indian, and this would in no way prejudice future negotiations. As an earnest of good faith, all the members of the Congress Working Committee were released.

Nehru spent a night at Allahabad and then left for Bombay where there was an affectionate reunion with Gandhi. Negotiations began with the viceroy soon afterwards, but collapsed because of the intransigence of Jinnah and the weakness of the viceroy in giving in to Muslim League pressure. Jinnah had succeeded in making himself the key to Indian freedom—unless he got what he wanted, no one else would. But with a Labour government now in power in Britain, Nehru realized that India was on the very doorstep of freedom. He left Simla, where the talks had taken place, for a month's holiday in the hills and valleys of Kashmir.

The high hills that Nehru loves

On 21 August 1945, after the Japanese surrender, it was announced that general elections would take place in India as soon as possible. When all the returns were in, the new Assembly was, in cooperation with the viceroy, to create a constitution-making body. Despite this gesture, the government ill-advisedly decided to prosecute members of the 'Indian National Army' which, under the direction of Subhas Bose, had fought during the war against the British. The trial aroused popular sentiment and the government realized that it had made a blunder; though the accused were convicted, they were immediately released.

Mutiny in Bombay.
Indian naval ratings
under arrest

Riots in Bombay.
A post office burns

In a tense atmosphere, the elections took place in January 1946; and though, as was to be expected, Congress did well, so did the Muslim League. Pressure began to build up. On 19 February a mutiny took place in units of the Indian Navy at Bombay and then spread to installations of the Royal Indian Air Force. Within four days, mutineers controlled twenty vessels including the flagship of the British Admiral. Patel appealed for a peaceful settlement. The next day the mutineers surrendered. But violence had bred violence and a wave of rioting, arson and looting spread across the country. Nehru, visiting Bombay, appealed for calm. 'For the past twenty-five years', he told a large gathering, 'the people of India have made tremendous sacrifices in the cause of winning our national independence. Our freedom is near at hand today. We have all the virtues for winning our freedom, but I confess that we lack the discipline which is essential for a free country.'

To break the impasse. **Indian leaders in London, 1946**

The revolt in the Navy convinced Britain's Labour government that action was imperative. It had already been decided in London (and announced on the day the mutiny broke out) that a Cabinet mission would go to India to discuss the way in which power could be handed over to Indians. The mission, like Congress, still hoped for an undivided India. But this was not to be. Part of the mission's plan announced on 16 May was the grouping of the Muslim majority provinces together, as had been suggested by the Muslim League. Jinnah hoped that Congress would not accept this and would refuse to join an interim government; he was assured by the viceroy that the plan would go ahead 'if *either* party accepted'. Congress *did* refuse to join a government but, to Jinnah's chagrin, the viceroy did not go ahead. The mission announced that its plan was shelved. The elections, however, proceeded with both Congress and the League triumphant.

For Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhi at Noakhali

1946. The first Indian interim government

The Muslim League, on 29 July, withdrew its acceptance of the mission's plan and called for 'Direct Action', the result of which was to be the massacre of hundreds of thousands of innocent people and the mass migration of over eleven million Muslims and Hindus. Jinnah also refused to join any new government, but Congress now decided to do so. Civil war seemed imminent as Jinnah and his colleagues were threatening violence everywhere. All they did was worsen a situation already smeared with blood. Jinnah now realized that he had made a tactical error by refusing to enter the interim government and negotiations began with Nehru. Nehru was conciliatory, but little progress was made. While the arguments were still passing by letter between the two parties, Jinnah saw the viceroy and agreed that the League would enter

The last viceroy.
Lord and Lady Mountbatten
with Mahatma Gandhi

On the edge of freedom.
Hindu and Muslim leaders
talk with the viceroy

'Violence was everywhere'. A trail of destruction in a Punjab town

the government. Jinnah's intention was to prevent it from functioning, thereby proving once and for all that Muslims and Hindus must separate, and that the only solution was partition.

League sabotage was so effective that the British government intervened by inviting Indian leaders to London. The party (including the viceroy, Nehru and Jinnah) left for London on 3 December 1946. To break the impasse it was decided that a new viceroy should be appointed. This was to be Lord Mountbatten, a great-grandson of Queen Victoria. His instructions were to prepare for a transfer of power by June 1948. To begin this onerous task he arrived in Delhi on 22 March 1947.

But to hand over power to an undivided India was now impossible. Violence was everywhere, the situation incendiary, law and order on the verge of collapse. By the middle of April, the state of the country was so grave that Mountbatten called upon Jinnah and Gandhi to make a joint appeal to all communities to refrain from violence. Tragically, it had little effect.

Utterly exhausted and full of grief, Jawaharlal votes for partition.
15 June 1947

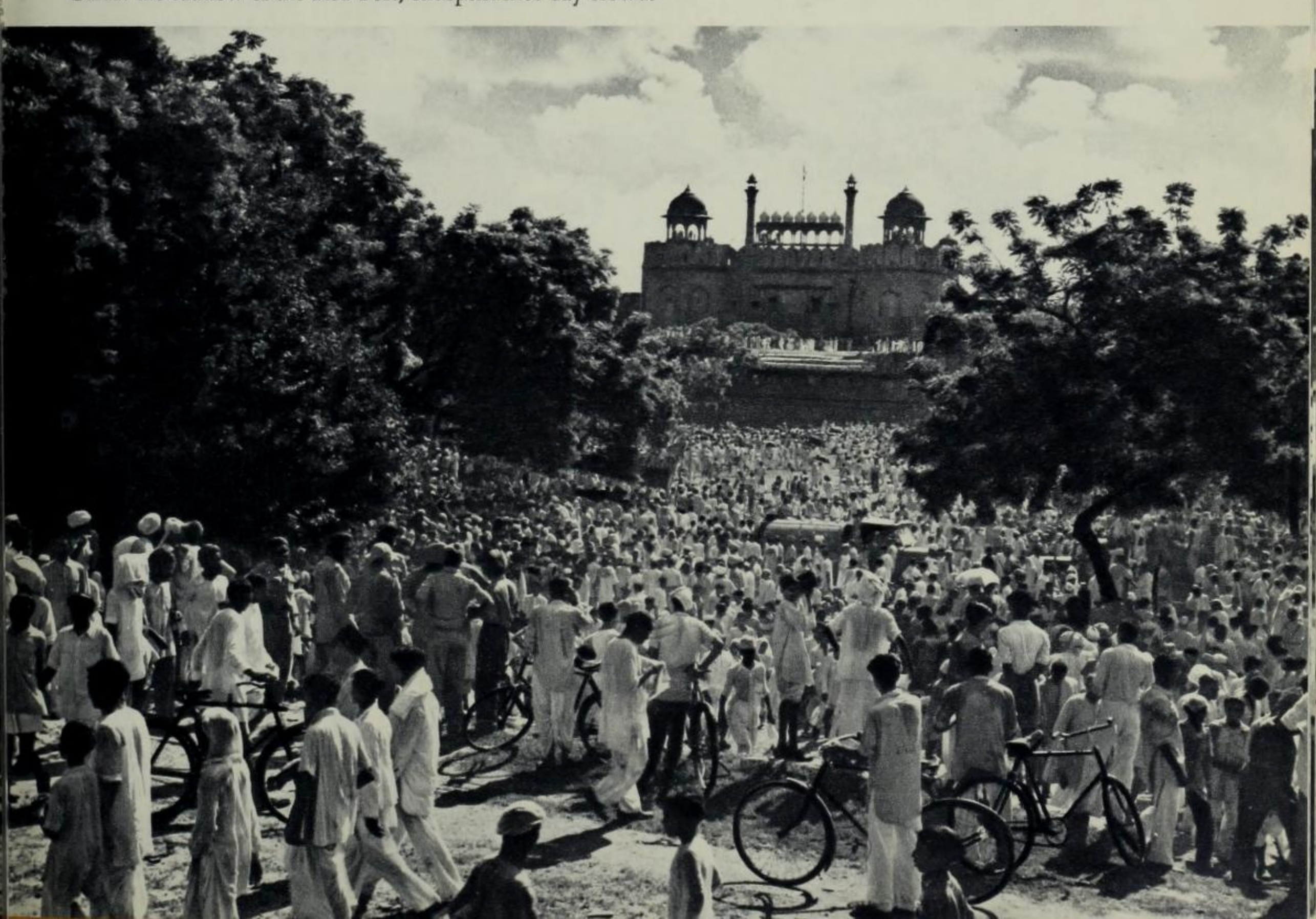
It now became obvious, however bitter it might be, that partition was the only way to avoid civil war. Both Nehru and Patel, who were now the chief figures in the negotiations, reluctantly accepted partition. The British government announced that the day for the transference of power was to be brought forward by almost a year, to a few weeks hence, to 15 August 1947. In accepting the establishment of Pakistan, Nehru realized that it would at least relieve them of the presence of Jinnah. 'By cutting off the head', he remarked, 'we shall get rid of the headache.' In a broadcast accepting the new plan on behalf of Congress, Nehru, perhaps rather sadly, declared: 'We are little men serving great causes. But because the cause is great something of the greatness falls upon us also.' The massacres in the Punjab, which was to be divided by the frontiers of the two new Dominions, continued.

As the last day of British rule drew to a close, Nehru made a moving speech. His opening words were of quiet triumph. 'Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially.'

As midnight struck, India became free—divided and torn, but free.

Independence day.
Lord and Lady Mountbatten
with Jawaharlal. New Delhi,
15 August 1947

Under the shadow of the Red Fort, Independence day crowds



The tragedy of partition. A refugee train at Umbala

The tragedy of partition. Hindu refugees in New Delhi

'The light has gone out of our lives.' Gandhi lying in state, 1948

Prime Minister of India

When freedom finally came after nearly thirty years of struggle, Nehru was just three months away from his fifty-eighth birthday, Patel was fourteen years older, and Gandhi was approaching seventy-eight. In just three years of independence, Nehru was to be deprived of both Patel and Gandhi. It was to be barely six months before the beloved Mahatma was to be assassinated. Patel lived until December 1950. At the moment, however, there was work to be done. Blood increasingly flowed in the Punjab, Calcutta was in the grip of madness, millions of refugees were streaming across the new frontiers—Muslims to Pakistan, Sikhs and Hindus to India. Nehru and Gandhi were constantly on the move, exhorting, and hoping by their presence to calm the passions of a frightened people. But violence was to reach out and take Gandhi from the India he loved.

On 30 January 1948, as Gandhi walked slowly to his prayer-meeting, he was shot by a Hindu extremist. Nehru rushed to the scene. Soon, he had to tell a waiting crowd of thousands—his face pale and haggard in the light of a street-lamp—'Mahatmaji is gone', then he broke into tears. 'The light has gone out of our lives', he said later in a broadcast to the people, 'and there is darkness everywhere. I do not know what to tell you and how to say it . . . A great disaster is a signal to us to remember all the big things of life and to forget the small things of which we have thought too much. In his death he has reminded us of the big things of life, the living truth, and if we remember that, then it will be well with India'.

The first Indian governor-general takes office. June 1948

In the months that followed, Nehru aged visibly. Loneliness and the cares of office pressed heavily upon him. Those cares were many, but the challenges of freedom had to be met. The vision of India which he had kept before him in the dark days of struggle and imprisonment must be given reality. The mantle of Gandhi now rested upon his shoulders—perhaps rather uneasily. He felt that with the Mahatma's death an era had come to an end and a new one, difficult and dark, had begun. But he believed that it was the last lap of a long journey. For India, in a very profound sense, the age of Nehru had begun.

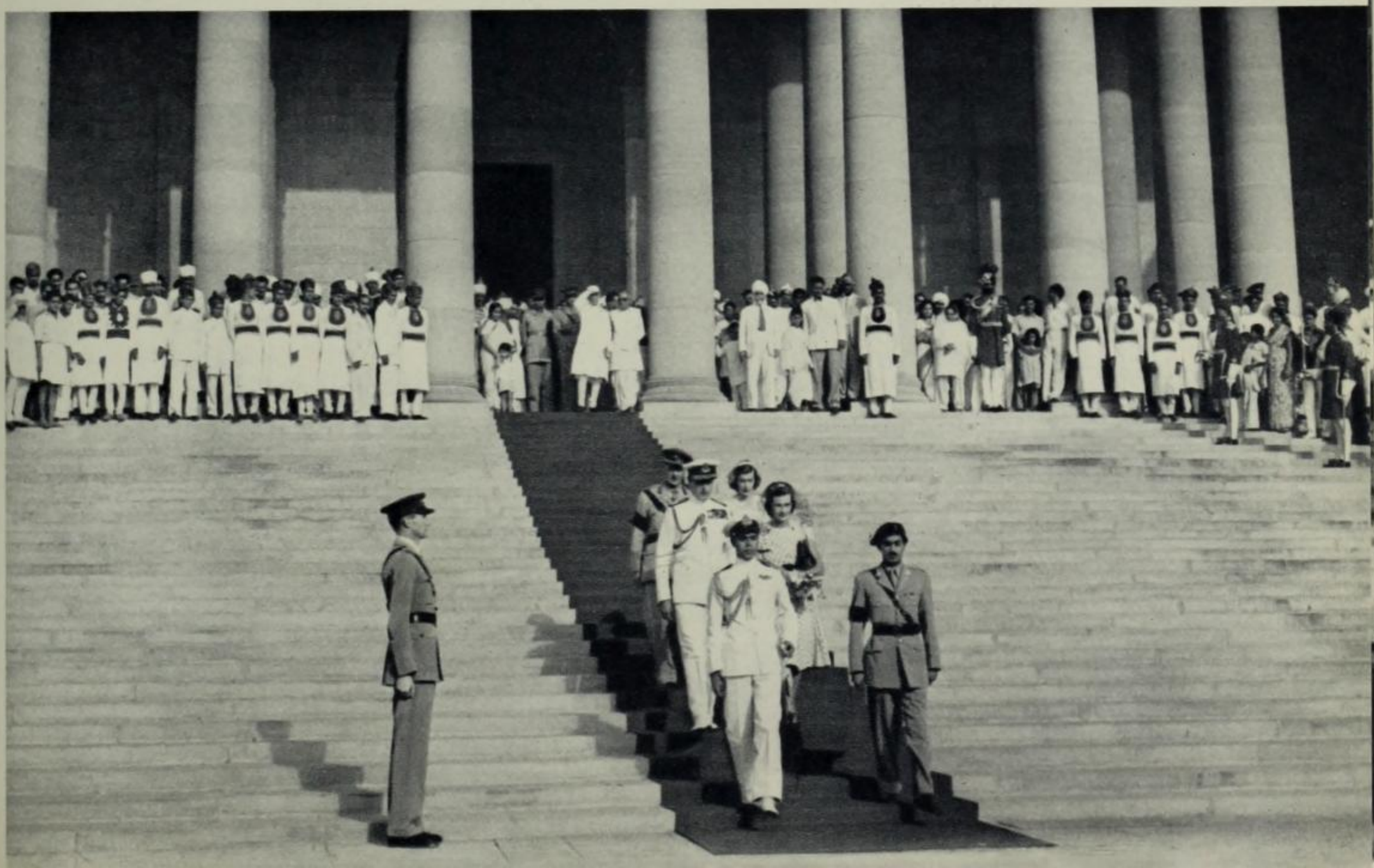
In 1949, India became a republic, but did not leave the Commonwealth; if anything, her ties with Britain became stronger than ever, for this time they had been made by free choice. Now was to be tried the greatest experiment in democracy the world has seen. India, for all its recorded history, had been ruled by one form of autocracy or another—now she was to have universal suffrage; the people were to have a say in their own government. So many revolutionaries in the modern world have used the words of democracy as

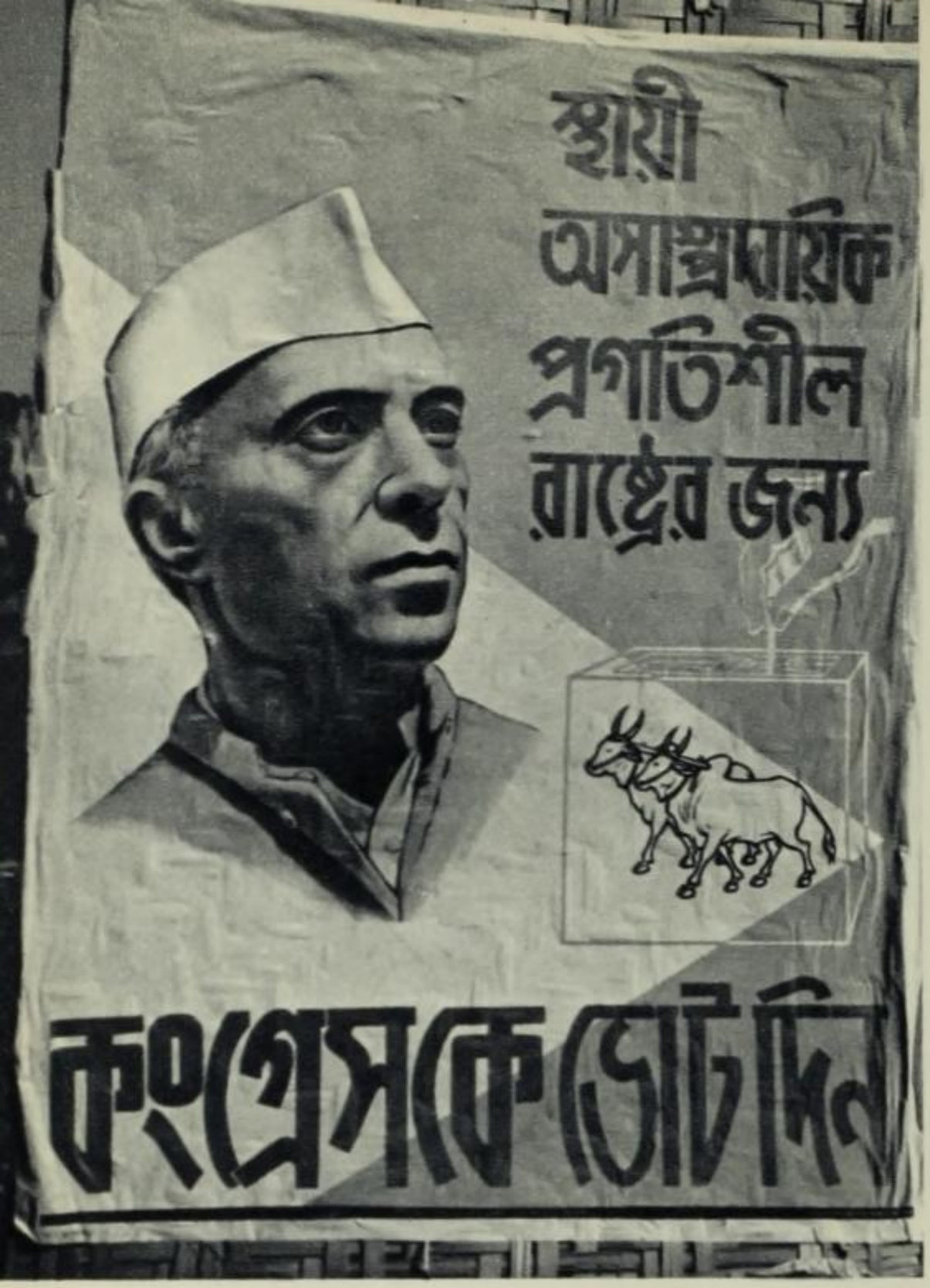
their rallying cries, only to abandon them when victory is won. Not so Nehru. For his belief in democracy was no mere lip-service, but a deep and genuine belief in the rightness of democratic practice.

In 1952, India held her first general election. In five hundred national parliamentary districts, over 160 million voters went to the polls—many millions for the first time. No one would pretend that the majority of the electorate fully understood the issues involved, but it was a first step of momentous importance. India, unlike many other former colonial possessions, has chosen to give democracy a trial. It would probably not have done so without Nehru. The result of the elections was a triumph for Nehru and Congress.

In India, Jawaharlal's aim has been to erect a welfare state, to raise India's millions to a higher standard of living. Characteristically, it was with the peasants that Jawaharlal sought to begin the great experiment. On the anniversary of Gandhi's birthday, on 2 October 1952, a start was made on the Community Development Programme. Addressing a crowd of peasants, Jawaharlal declared: 'The work which has started today spells the revolution about which some people have been shouting for so long. This is a revolution based not on chaos and the breaking of heads, but on a sustained effort to eradicate poverty. This is no time for speeches. We must make India great by our toil.' And to prove his point, the prime minister took a spade and led a party of officials in a piece of voluntary road-building.

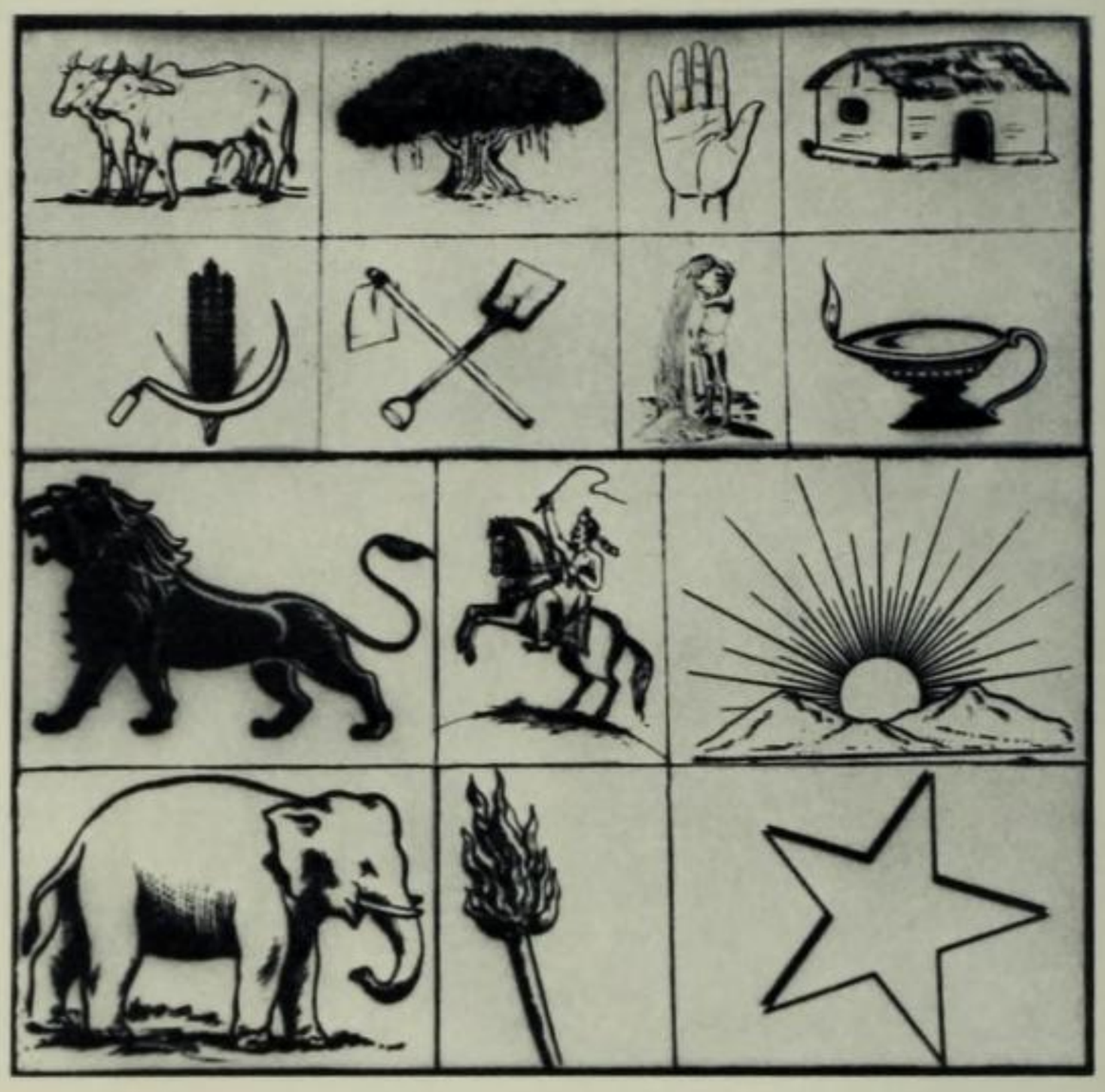
Lord Mountbatten leaves India





'Vote Congress, vote Nehru'. An election poster in Bengal

Party symbols



The problems facing the government were immense. A vast population, growing at the rate of some five millions every year; grinding poverty and constant food shortages; the need for the expansion of industry and the modernization of agriculture—all these called for thought and planning on a very large scale. And India was, and still is, a poor country. Tremendous difficulties were also presented by the fact that India is a land of many different races, all with their own languages and loyalties. One of the first acts of the new government was to set up a national planning authority to decide what should be done and how funds should be allocated. Many new industrial undertakings have been established, new methods of agriculture have been taught to the peasant. Fortunately, India has been able to draw on large sums of foreign aid—from the United States, from Britain, and from the Soviet Union.

The spectrum of the planning projects is almost as vast as India herself. They range from great steel mills and fertilizer factories to dairy farms and new ways of growing rice. But progress is not confined to material things, to factories and ploughs. The government, remembering Gandhi's belief in the virtues of local self-government as a nursery of democracy, has been encouraging

In the countryside, a candidate talks to the electors

In the town, a candidate addresses a crowd

Nehru, the statesman. Moscow 1955

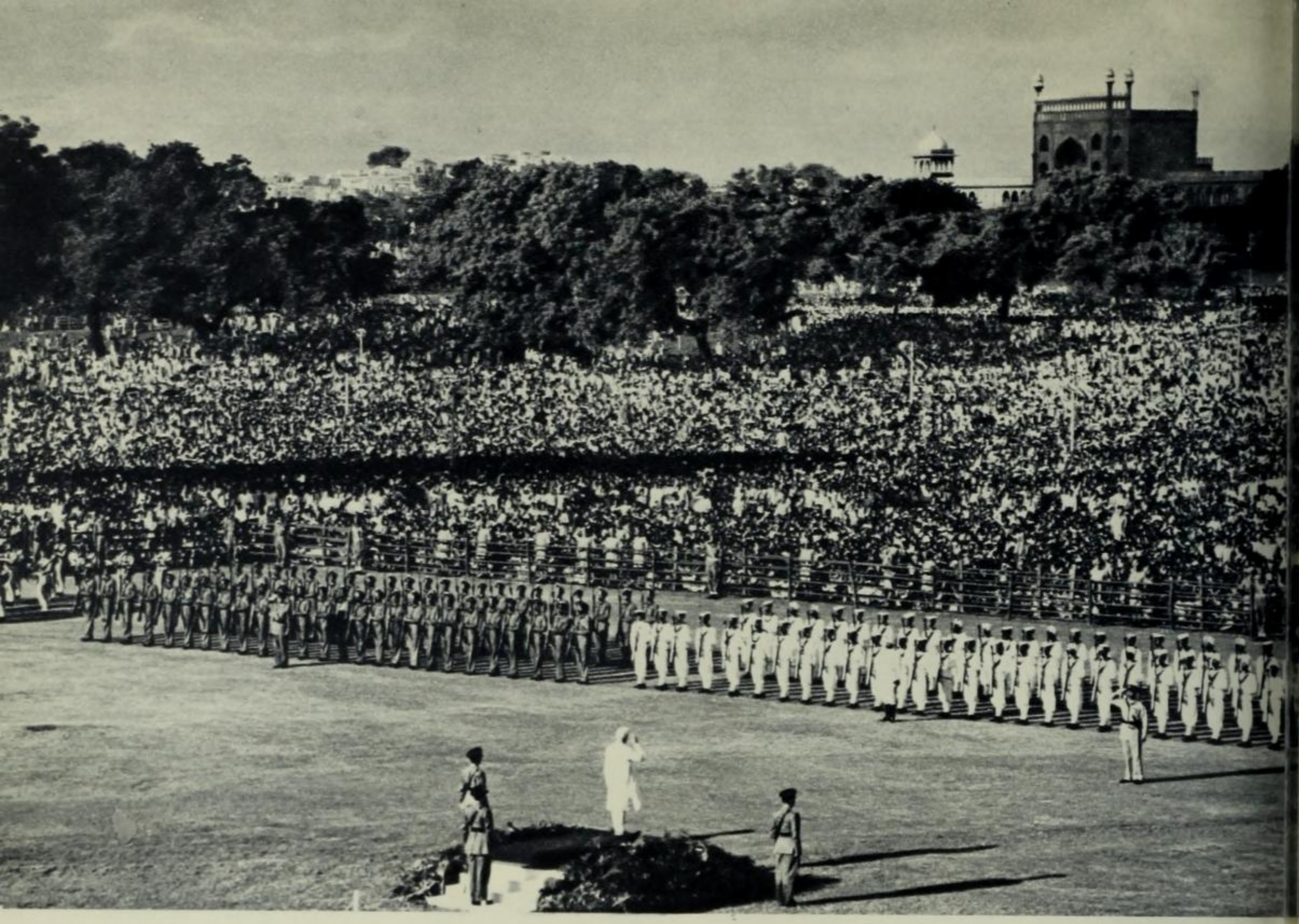
the peasant in his village to take a hand in cooperative effort and responsibility, and not to accept new ideas from above without debate. Slowly, through the inertia of peasant India, a wave—as yet only small—of enthusiasm and interest in self-betterment is breaking over the conservatism of the village. Much of the inspiration comes from Jawaharlal, who has never forgotten the poverty and hopelessness of peasant life which so shocked him when he made his discovery of India as a young man.

In the greater world outside India, Nehru soon emerged as a statesman raising his country's prestige in international affairs. He became, in one sense, the voice of the new world once denied a say in its own destiny, which now called out for recognition. Nehru first stated this claim at the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris in November 1948.

'May I say, as a representative from Asia, that we honour Europe for its culture and for the great advance in human civilization which it represents? May I say that we are equally interested in the solution of European problems? But may I also say that the world is something bigger than Europe, and you will

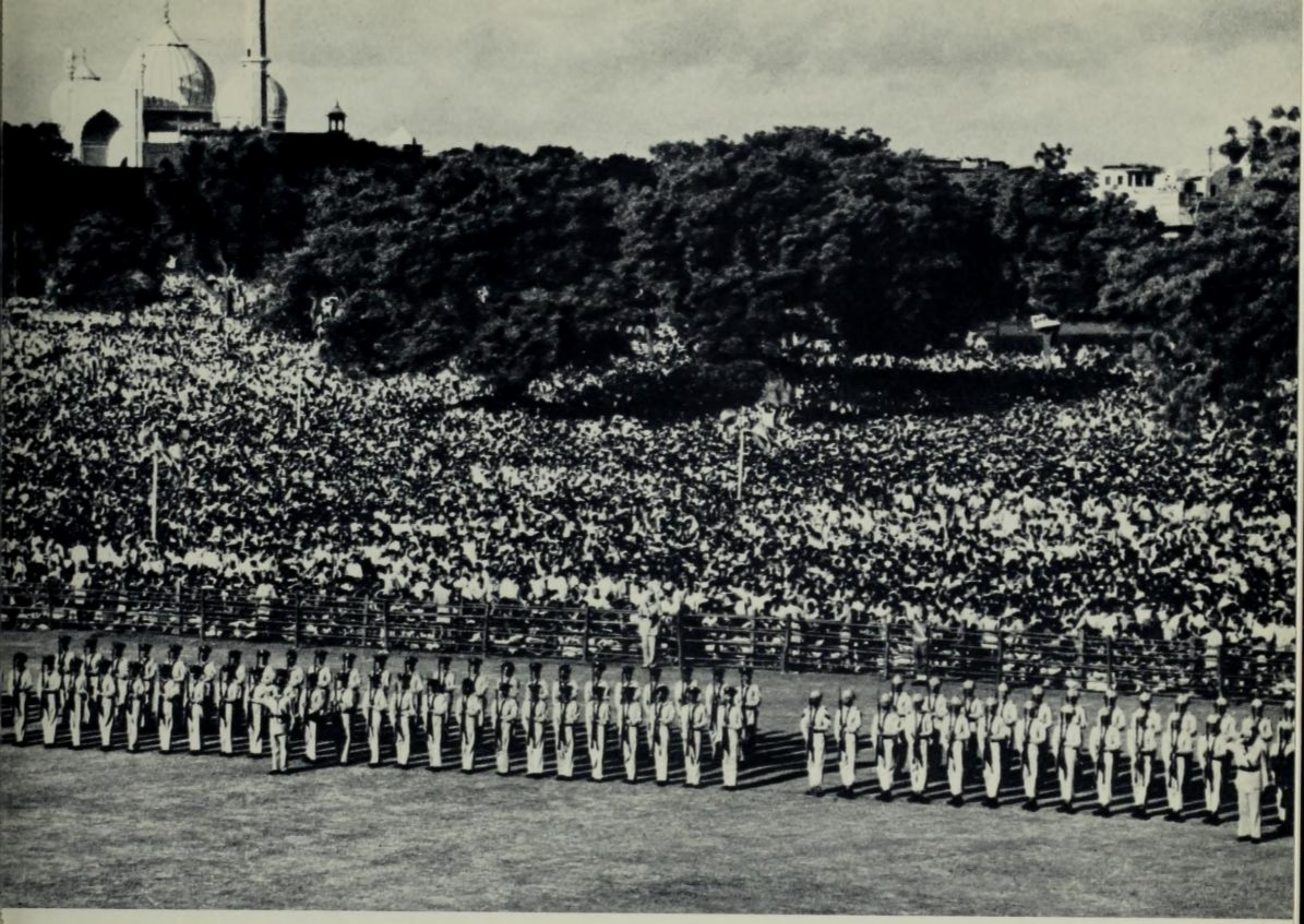
Nehru inaugurates a community development programme

Village peasants talk with the prime minister



not solve your problems by thinking that the problems of the world are mainly European problems? There are vast tracts in the world that may not in the past, for a few generations, have taken much part in world affairs. But they are awake; their people are moving and they have no intention whatever of being ignored or of being passed by. It is a simple fact that I think we have to remember, because unless you have the full picture of the world before you, you will not even understand the problem, and if you isolate any single problem in the world from the rest, you do not understand the problem. Today I do venture to submit that Asia counts in world affairs. Tomorrow it will count much more than today.'

India's foreign policy has been based upon that visualized as far back as 1920 by the Indian National Congress. Nehru restated it a year before independence was achieved.



On Independence day, 1956, the prime minister takes the salute in the Red Fort in Delhi

'In the sphere of foreign affairs', he said, 'India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against the other. She will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. She will work with other peace-loving nations for international cooperation and goodwill without exploitation of one nation by another'.

As the postwar world became involved in the 'cold war' between Russia and the West, as the smaller nations began to take sides, Nehru put forward a new and very personal policy. Today, it is known as 'neutralism', though Nehru himself prefers the word 'non-alignment'. Immediately after independence, Nehru would have preferred to concentrate upon India's internal problems and to play a relatively passive role in world affairs. The outbreak of the Korean war, however, proved to him that India could not remain aloof, and

The prime minister and the dove

the Chinese Communist occupation of Tibet (on India's northern frontiers) confirmed that belief. In the darkening world that followed the Korean war, India appeared to assume the rôle of mediator between East and West—a position which has earned Nehru abuse from both sides. But Nehru's neutralism has changed over the years. Although essentially it is the same; a middle way between East and West, Nehru has learned a number of hard lessons. After the Chinese revolution of 1949, India extended her sympathy to the new regime. To Nehru, China was emerging into freedom just as India had done. But Chinese incursions into India's northern territories have brought new attitudes. India is rather less neutral about Chinese pretensions than she used to be.

Off duty.
The prime minister relaxes
with his grandchildren
at Pahalgam

Nehru has often said—and done—obtuse and inconsistent things. When Britain and France attacked Egypt in 1956, Nehru quite rightly condemned the act. But he remained silent on the crushing of the Hungarian revolt by Soviet tanks. Then, Nehru's neutralism seemed of the highly selective variety. Yet the condemnation of Britain for her part in the Suez affair reflected Nehru's feeling of outrage that Britain, whom he had always admired, despite his own experiences of jail and oppression, should indulge in such a deed. That he did not also condemn Russia's action in Budapest (which he could not have approved) was an error in diplomacy.

Empire into commonwealth. The commonwealth prime ministers in London, 1957

Again, in December 1961, many people in the West were shocked when India attacked and occupied the Portuguese colonial territory of Goa—south of Bombay—and the tiny enclaves of Daman and Diu. Where, even friends of India asked, was Nehru's often reiterated belief in peaceful methods of settling disputes? It was well known that the Fascist government of Dr Salazar was not likely to give up any of Portugal's overseas possessions until forced to do so. But there had been far worse provocation in 1954, when many Indians had been shot down by Portuguese soldiers. The stature of Nehru was reduced in the eyes of the West though not amongst those in Asia who had, only a short while before, emerged from under colonial rule, nor in Africa where the struggle for freedom is still going on.

At the United Nations 1960

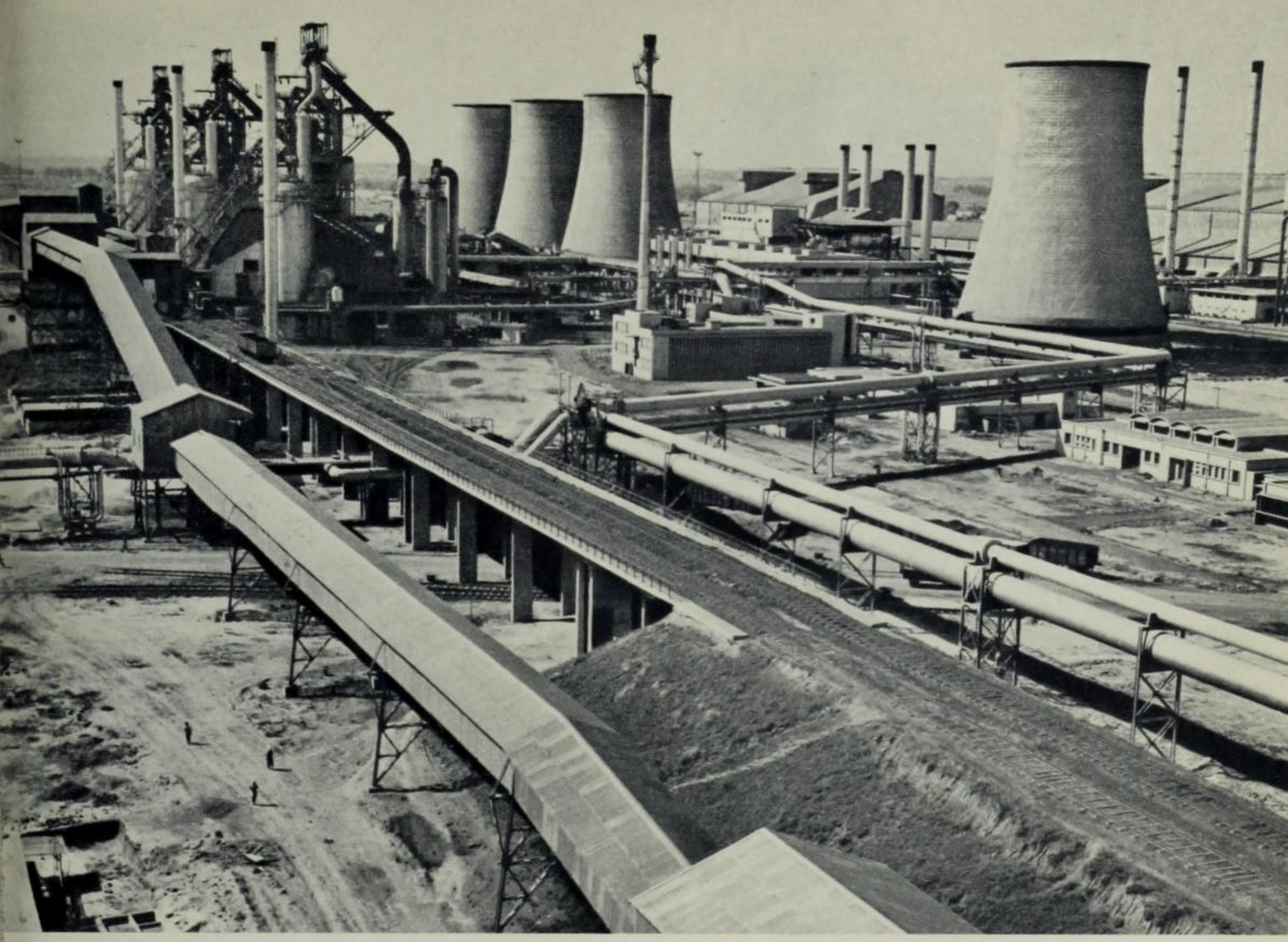
Nehru throughout his career has never been consistent, his actions never predictable. Yet on the wider stage there is no doubt of his fundamental attachment to peace. The fact that he appears to be not so remote from the temptations of our uneasy times as the world had thought him to be does not diminish that. It must be remembered that Nehru is a product, untypical but undeniably, of the great upsurge of the colonial peoples of the world. Political man is always a creature of his political environment—and Nehru is no exception. Like all the former revolutionaries who have succeeded the colonial rulers, Nehru is a transitional figure, a bridge between the past which, though it can never return, still haunts their minds and, in varying degrees, influences their actions, and the future which will be in the hands of new and very different men. In this lies, not the excuse but an explanation for much of Nehru's apparent inconsistency.

That is the public face of Nehru, prime minister of India and world statesman. Despite prestige, praise and blame, despite fourteen gruelling years of independence, Nehru the man remains essentially unchanged. He is still the

Tradition. Yoked oxen in the procession that marks the meeting of the All-India Congress

lonely introspective who emerges so clearly in his autobiography. He still feels the same intimate relationship with the masses which he first discovered in the struggle for freedom. The defects that Gandhi saw so clearly are still there, and now there is no one to restrain his impatient and sometimes uncritical actions. He has become the Caesar that he prophesied he might become. Nehru has been described as a 'noble tyrant' and a 'democratic dictator'. Both are true. He does not relish criticism from individuals (few people do, for that matter), and this means to a large extent that he is surrounded by yes-men.

It is here, perhaps, that history will have most to criticize. In a country of more than four hundred million people striving for prosperity and economic progress, one man—even a great man—cannot make a great creative impact.



Progress. The great Steelworks at Durgapur

The problem, and the decisions, are too vast for one mind. Nehru talks of the future, even plans for the future, but does not appear to think of the time when he will no longer be at the helm. The question 'after Nehru, what?' angers him, but it is a question that no one, not even Nehru, is prepared to answer. Yet, in the final analysis, history will judge him not only for what he did but what he prepared for—and it may find him wanting.

But whatever the criticisms—and they are many, and often just—of Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, not even his worst enemies would deny the truth of the words of Vinoba Bhave: 'After Gandhi's, his is the one name that stands for India—*is* India.'

In the shadow of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, a vast crowd listens to the prime minister

CHRONOLOGY

1889 Born 14 November, at Allahabad.

1905 Arrives at Harrow School.

1907 Enters Trinity College, Cambridge.

1912 Barrister-at-Law, Inner Temple; Advocate, Allahabad High Court; attended Bankipur Congress as delegate, beginning of his political career.

1916 Marries Kamala.

1917 Daughter Indira born.

1920 Organized first peasant demonstration in Pratapgarh.

1921 December; first imprisonment.

1923 September; General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee.

1927 February, attended Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels as official delegate of Congress from India; was instrumental in committing the Congress to the goal of independence at the Madras Session.
November, attended tenth anniversary celebrations of the Revolution in Moscow.

1928 Was lathi-charged while leading a procession against the Simon Commission in Lucknow; 29 August, attended All Parties Conference and was signatory

to Nehru Report on Indian constitutional reform; founded Independence for India League, which advocated complete severance of the British connection, and was its General Secretary.

1929 December, President: Lahore session of Congress, creed changed to complete independence.

1930 14 April–11 October, arrested and sentenced to six months in salt laws Civil Disobedience campaign.

1932 Sentenced for the fifth time.

1935 14 February, completed Autobiography in Almora District Jail.

1936 February–March, flew to Switzerland to see ailing wife, visited London, Rome.

1938 Visited Spain in the Republican cause.

1939 Visited China.

1940 31 October, arrested and sentenced to four years imprisonment.

1941 December, released with other leaders.

1942 Discussions with Chiang Kai-shek in India; 7 August, moves Quit India resolution at A.I.C.C. session in Bombay; 8 August, arrested and taken to Ahmednagar Fort; last and longest detention.

1945 January, released.

1946 Opposed partition of India; March, toured East Asia; 6 July, elected Congress President for fourth time; 2 September, forms Interim Government, and sworn in as Prime Minister and Member for External Affairs.

1947 15 August, First Prime Minister of free India.

1948 3 November, addressed special session of the General Assembly of the U.N. in Paris.

1949 13 October, addressed U.S. Congress; 24 October, addressed Canadian Parliament.

1950 2 April, signed Indo-Pakistan Agreement on Minorities; 26 April, visited Karachi.

1951 June, visited Nepal.

1953 May, attended coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London; July, visited Karachi.

1954 June, held talks with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai; 25 June, issued joint statement on the Five Principles of Co-existence; October, visited China; December, visited Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaya.

1955 April, attended Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung; June–July, visited Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Egypt; 13 December, signed joint statement with Prime Minister Bulganin about co-existence.

1956 June–July, visited Ireland, West Germany, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon; 31 October, urges swift action against Anglo-French-Israeli action against Egypt in message to U.N. Secretary-General; 30 November, welcomed Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in Delhi; December, visited U.S.A., Canada, Europe, conferred with President Eisenhower; 20 December, addressed informal meeting of U.N. General Assembly.

1956–57 30 December–2 January, held conversations with Chou En-lai during latter's third visit.

1957 June, went on goodwill visit to Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden; July, visited Holland, Egypt, Sudan; October, visited Japan.

1958 8–10 January, welcomed British Prime Minister and held discussions with him; 16 September–2 October, visited Bhutan.

1959 23 March, reported Chinese action in Tibet to Parliament; 11–14 June, visited Nepal; 14–22 September, visited Afghanistan and Iran; 8 October, held talks with the Burmese Prime Minister Ne Win in Delhi; 11 December, issued joint statement with President Eisenhower on need to settle disputes by peaceful means; 21 December, declined Chou En-lai's invitation to a conference in Rangoon.

1960 May, attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, visited Paris, Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon; 19 September, signed the Indus Water Treaty with Pakistan; September–October, attended the U.N. 'Summit' General Assembly Session as leader of the Indian delegation; 1 October, moved a resolution in the Assembly urging Eisenhower and Khruschev to renew their contacts; 3 October, addressed the U.N. General Assembly stressing the need for world peace.

1961 March, attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference; September, attended the summit meeting of the non-aligned nations at Belgrade.

1962 March, became Prime Minister for the third time after Congress returned to power in general election.

NOTES ON THE PICTURES

If not acknowledged, quotations are from JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Frontispiece. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Prime Minister of India. *Michael Peto.*

Page

5 VALE OF KASHMIR. The Nehru family name was originally Kaul and Raj Kaul came from Kashmir to Delhi in 1716. He became known as Kaul-Nehru as his house was on a canal (*nahar*). Later the Kaul was dropped. *J. Allan Cash.*

6 JAWAHARLAL, about five years old, with his father and mother. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

7 THE FUTURE NATIONALIST in a sailor suit. Nehru recalls that he both loved and feared his father. 'His temper', he writes in his Autobiography, 'was indeed an awful thing.' *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

THE FIRST MOTOR CAR in Allahabad. Motilal at the wheel. *Motilal Nehru Memorial Trust.*

8 'THE HOUSE OF JOY' at Allahabad. The Nehru home, in style a sort of Saracenic-Victorian. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

9 'BEHIND ME LIE . . . GENERATIONS OF BRAHMINS.' Jawaharlal after receiving the Brahminical thread (1902). In Hindu society there are four castes, of which the Brahmin is the highest. From this caste

come the priests. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

JAWAHARLAL, AGED 14, with his sister Swarup, now Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. *P. N. Sharma.*

JAWAHARLAL AND HIS FAMILY—still the anglicized young man. *Motilal Nehru Memorial Trust.*

10 IN UNIFORM: the Harrow School Cadets. *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

11 'I GOT USED TO HARROW and liked the place.' So Jawaharlal later wrote in his autobiography. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

JAWAHARLAL WITH THE BOYS of Dr Wood's House, Harrow 1907. 'When the time came to part [leave Harrow] I felt unhappy and tears came to my eyes.' *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

12 JAWAHARLAL AFTER HIS GRADUATION, with Motilal. 'I admired Father tremendously. He seemed to me the embodiment of strength and courage and cleverness, far above all the other men I saw.' *Motilal Nehru Memorial Trust.*

13 TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. Jawaharlal experienced a great sense of freedom at Cambridge. 'I felt', he wrote later, 'at last I could claim to be grown up.' *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

14 NEHRU THE BARRISTER, 1912. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

THE INNER TEMPLE: King's Bench Walk. *Sport and General.*

15 CHAINSA VILLAGE. *J. Allan Cash.*

16 VISCOUNT MORLEY. In a speech in the House of Lords, Morley, referring to the new reforms, stated: 'If I was attempting to set up a Parliamentary system in India, or if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing to do with it.' *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

EARL OF MINTO. Almost exactly 100 years earlier another Earl of Minto had been Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal (1807–1830). *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

17 M. K. GANDHI, ATTORNEY. He is seen here with his articled clerk, H. S. L. Polak, and his secretary. *Associated Press.*

18 THE DELHI DURBAR, 1911. The first, and last, occasion on which a ruling British Monarch visited his Indian Empire. *Illustrated London News.*

19 INDIAN CAVALRY in France, 1916. In the first world war India produced over 1,200,000 volunteers for combatant and non-combatant duties. *Illustrated London News.*

20 LORD CHELMSFORD (1916–1921) at Bombay. 'All these people lived in a world apart, cut off from the masses.' *Illustrated London News.*

21 BRIGADIER-GENERAL R. E. H. DYER. The officer responsible for the massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, 1919. Though the Government of India vehemently dissociated itself from Dyer's action and removed him from his command, he was just as vehemently supported by a large section of the British Press, and the sum of £26,000 was raised as a testimonial to what the subscribers obviously thought was a fine action of a gallant British officer. Winston Churchill, never friendly to Indian

Nationalism, said at the time '. . . the crowd was not armed, except with bludgeons, and it was not attacking anybody or any thing.' *Illustrated London News.*

22 JAWAHARLAL AND KAMALA after their marriage in 1916. The marriage was arranged, as it still is to a large extent in Brahmin families, and Jawaharlal felt distant from Kamala for many years. *Associated Press.*

23 THE NEHRU FAMILY. Jawaharlal, Kamala and their daughter Indira, 1918. *Associated Press.*

24 AN INDIAN PEASANT tilling the soil. 'The peasantry were a blind, poverty-stricken, suffering mass, resigned to their miserable fate and exploited by all who came into contact with them.' *Michael Peto.*

25 MAHATMA GANDHI at the time of the early non-violent campaigns. A popular portrait produced for sale in the bazaars. Nehru said, soon after meeting him, 'He was humble but also clear-cut and hard as a diamond, pleasant and soft-spoken but inflexible and terribly earnest.' *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

26 'SOLDIERS FOR FREEDOM.' Jawaharlal and his father during a civil disobedience campaign, about 1925. *Associated Press.*

27 BOYCOTT. This relatively sophisticated type of campaign often worried the British more than would direct action. *The Times of India.*

29 BOYCOTT. The early Congress attitude towards alcoholic drinks has become part of the policy of the Government of India since independence. Today complete or partial prohibition exists in most parts of India. The women are picketing Bombay Town Hall. *The Times of India.*

29 WOMEN DEMONSTRATORS on their way to jail. *The Times of India.*

NON-VIOLENCE. *The Times of India.*

31 A PROCESSION OF WOMEN, led by Mrs Mehta, carrying the national flag. *The Times of India.*

32 AT AMRITSAR followers of Gandhi march off to defy authority. *John E. Allen, New York.*

33 AMRITSAR. Police attack demonstrators with lathis. A lathi is a stick made of bamboo and used by the police as a baton. *John E. Allen, New York.*

34 AMRITSAR. Memorial to those killed in the Jallianwala Bagh. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

35 A SCENE IN SOUTH INDIA—oil-pressing from coconuts. 'I realized more than ever how cut off we were from our people and how we lived and worked and agitated in a little world apart from them.' *Michael Peto.*

36 GANDHI SPINNING at a 'Charka' demonstration. Mirzapore Park, Calcutta, 1925. *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

37 A NEW VICEROY leaves for India. Lord and Lady Irwin with the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, and the Archbishop of Canterbury at Victoria Station, London, March 1926. Lord Irwin was later known as the Earl of Halifax and became British Foreign Secretary. *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

38 AT THE CONGRESS of Oppressed Nationalities. Madame Sun Yat-sen. *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

GEORGE LANSBURY, one of the leaders of the British Labour Party, and a life-long pacifist. *Fox Photos.*

39 NEHRU AND HO CHI MINH. This photograph, taken in 1954, shows Nehru with another Asian delegate to the Brussels conference. Ho, a communist, had, at the time this photograph was taken, just defeated the French in Indo-China and won freedom for Vietnam. *Associated Press.*

41 MADRAS: Scene of the Congress meeting of 1927. *J. Allan Cash.*

42 GANDHI AND OTHER LEADERS at a session of Congress. Gandhi is shown writing notes for his paper *Young India: r.* Congress President Vallabhbhai Patel: *l.* Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, later Minister of Education after independence. *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

43 DEMONSTRATING against the Simon Commission, Madras 1929. *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

45 NON-VIOLENCE answered by violence. A Congress demonstration broken up by police in the early '30s. 'As our *morale* grew, that of the Government went down. The nerves of many a British official began to give way.' *British Movietone News.*

46 GANDHI at the time of the Round Table Conference. 'He was a very difficult person to understand, sometimes his language was almost incomprehensible.' *Fox Photos.*

47 JAWAHARLAL in 1929.

48 PART OF LAHORE, where the Congress meeting of 1929 was held. A view from one of the minarets of the Badshahi Masjid. *J. Allan Cash.*

49 VALLABHBHAI PATEL in the early 1930s. 'One of the most popular and forceful men in India.' *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

50 SWARAJ BHAVAN, 'House of Freedom', Allahabad. Given by Motilal Nehru to the Indian people. *Associated Press.*

51 JAWAHARLAL in the early 1930s. *Keystone.*

52 THE MARCH TO DANDI, 1930. Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu, a poetess known as the 'Indian Nightingale' who became the first woman governor of an Indian State. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

53 THE ILLEGAL MAKING OF SALT. Jawaharlal's wife is on the extreme left. Next to her is his mother. The making of salt, the manufacture of which was a government monopoly, was an act every peasant in India could understand. Leaflets were issued by Congress giving instructions on how to make it. Nehru describes that they 'ultimately succeeded in producing some unwholesome stuff which we waved about in triumph and often auctioned for fancy prices.' The main thing, however, was the very simplicity of this act of defiance. *Associated Press.*

54 STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE against the arrest of Motilal Nehru, All-India Congress President. *The Times of India.*

55 NAINI JAIL TODAY. The plaque over the entrance commemorates Jawaharlal's imprisonment. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

56–57 THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE: a scene in the House of Lords, London 1931. Delegates to the Conference were all nominated by the British Government and, as Nehru notes in his autobiography, 'The Government had chosen well . . . it was . . . an assembly of vested interests.' *Central Press.*

57 MOTILAL NEHRU, just before his death. *Motilal Nehru Memorial Trust.*

59 THE KARACHI SESSION of Congress, 1931. 'An even greater personal triumph for Gandhiji than any other previous Congress had been.' *Central Press.*

60 SIMLA, summer seat of the viceroy. In the hot season the Government of India, under British rule, moved out of New Delhi into the cool foothills of the Himalayas in which Simla stands. The present Government stays in Delhi. *Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.*

61 'GREAT SOUL' or 'naked fakir'. Gandhi at No 10 Downing Street, in 1931. The title 'Mahatma' means 'Great Soul'. It was Winston Churchill who referred to Gandhi as a 'naked fakir'. *Central Press.*

62–63 GANDHI makes his first address in Bombay after his return from London. Only part of the crowd is shown. *The Times of India.*

64 JAWAHARLAL IN CALCUTTA in the early 1930s. With him is Subhas Chandra Bose (wearing spectacles) who later became the leader of a free Indian Government set up by the Japanese in the second world war. He was killed in an air crash in Formosa in 1945. *Paul Popper.*

65 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: a police officer snatches a flag from a woman demonstrator. *The Times of India.*

66 JAWAHARLAL'S MOTHER. *Motilal Nehru Memorial Trust.*

67 DEHRA DUN lies about 125 miles north-east of Delhi in the foothills of the Himalayas. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

68 UNTOUCHABLES, whom Gandhi called 'the children of God'. The 'untouchables' are those who do not belong to any of the castes into which the Hindu social order is divided. A high-caste Brahmin would be polluted even if the shadow of an untouchable fell across him. The British referred to them as the 'depressed classes'. The independent Government of India has legislated widely to protect them against religious and social discrimination though it has not yet been able to stamp it out. *Paul Popper.*

69 DR B. R. AMBEDKAR, leader of India's Untouchables. He later became a Cabinet Minister after Independence. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

70 THE TITLE PAGE of *Glimpses of World History*, first published in Allahabad in 1934, now produced by Asia Publishing House.

71 THE VICEROY, Lord Willingdon, in 1931. *Central Press.*

73 FAMINE IN BIHAR. Jawaharlal talks to the peasants. Bihar lies between Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, now renamed Uttar Pradesh. *Pictorial Press.*

74 THE TWO NATIONS: the Palace of the Maharana of Udaipur. *Paul Popper.*

75 THE TWO NATIONS: an Indian village. This particular village is in central India near the famous caves at Ajanta. *Richard Lannoy.*

76 LORD WILLINGDON unveils the statue to his predecessor, 1934. The statue (of Lord Irwin) still stands at New Delhi, an indication of the esteem in which he is still held in India. One modern Indian historian (S. Gopal) has said of him 'that he did more than most other men of his time to keep alive the faith of the two peoples [of India and Britain] in each other.' *Fox Photos.*

77 IN THE HIMALAYAN FOOTHILLS near Almora. The terraced fields are for growing grain. *Richard Lannoy.*

78 THE VICEROY greets an Indian Prince. The relationship between the viceroy and the princes was regulated by treaties between the princely states and the British Crown, and not with the Government of India. The fiction existed that the states were to a large extent independent, and though in one sense this was true, the viceroy could, and did, remove rulers he disapproved of. At the time of independence the number of princely states was 562, covering approximately 43 per cent. of India, and with a population of about 93,000,000 people. *Fox Photos.*

79 MAHATMA GANDHI and some of his followers. *Fox Photos.*

80 ITALIAN TROOPS on their way to Abyssinia. The war in Abyssinia, one of the first essays in Fascist imperialism, and part of the overture to the second world war, began in October 1935 and ended with the annexation of the country by Italy in May 1937. *Associated Press.*

81 LAKE GENEVA near Lausanne, Switzerland. *J. Allan Cash.*

82 LORD LINLITHGOW at a shooting party in Koti State in the Simla Hills, at the invitation of the Rana, eighty-two-year-old ruler of the state. *Paul Popper.*

83 'SENTINEL OF THE EAST'. Though this cartoon is post-independence (1949) it represents a continuing Indian belief in the towering stature of Nehru. *Shankar's Weekly.*

84 INDIANS go to the polls. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

85 A VICEREGAL GARDEN PARTY, 1939. Unperturbed by the threat of war and of nationalist agitation the viceroy's almost Edwardian position as the social arbiter of the British in India continued. *Fox Photos.*

86 A BULLOCK CART such as Nehru would have used when touring the villages. *Richard Lannoy.*

87 JAWAHARLAL and Subhas Chandra Bose in Calcutta. 1937. *Keystone.*

88 JAWAHARLAL and his daughter Indira, in London, 1938. In the picture with him (extreme right) is V. K. Krishna Menon, now India's Defence Minister. *Keystone.*

89 FAMINE. Lord Linlithgow examines public works. These peasants are engaged in road mending, one of the forms of famine relief. Punjab 1939. *Fox Photos.*

90 RIDING through the streets of Ludhiana, 1939. *Keystone.*

91 IT WAS GANDHI who was the first to discover the effectiveness of the fast as a political weapon. *Associated Press.*

92 GANDHI IN BOMBAY with Jawaharlal and Vallabhbhai Patel, 1939. *Keystone.*

93 1940. UNRUFFLED, the Viceroy leaves for a garden party. 'Few experiences are more dreary than sitting with high-placed officials . . . and listening to their unending talk about promotions, leave rules, furloughs, transfers, and little tit-bits of Service scandal.' *Fox Photos.*

94 THE LACK OF COOPERATION between the Muslim League and Congress gave the British a splendid excuse for delaying political reform. *Central Press.*

95 THE FALL OF SINGAPORE. British troops waiting to go to a Japanese prison camp, 1942. *Associated Press.*

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS with Jawaharlal, 1942. *Pictorial Press.*

96 INDIAN GIRLS under arrest after picketing the Central Assembly in New Delhi, 1942. *Associated Press.*

97 BEFORE THE ARREST; Gandhi and Nehru in Bombay, 1942. *Planet News.*

98 THIS PICTURE is believed to be the only one in existence of Nehru in jail. With him is the husband of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister. *Author's collection.*

99 AFTER THE ARREST of Gandhi, police break up a meeting with tear gas. The speaker can be seen through a break in the cloud of gas. *Associated Press.*

IN BOMBAY, a tramcar gutted by fire. *Sport and General.*

100 THE VICEROY, Lord Wavell, visits a food kitchen. During the whole of India's history no part of the country has ever been free from famine. The great Bengal famine of 1943 was one of the worst in recorded history. *Keystone.*

101 GANDHI leaves to visit the viceroy. *Fox Photos.*

102 JAWAHARLAL addresses a crowd. *Fox Photos.*

103 THE HIGH HILLS that Nehru loves. *Michael Peto.*

104 MUTINY IN BOMBAY. Indian naval ratings under arrest. *Keystone.*

RIOTS in Bombay. A Post Office burns. *Keystone.*

105 IN THE PHOTOGRAPH are *l.* to *r.* Wavell, Jinnah, Baldev Singh, Pethick-Lawrence, Nehru. *Central Press.*

106 FOR HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY. Gandhi at Noakhali. Gandhi, bitterly hurt by the proposed division of India, made it his task to attempt to prevent Hindu-Muslim rioting. His presence alone was often enough to halt violence. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

107 1946. THE FIRST Indian interim government. Front row *l.* to *r.* Nehru, Asaf Ali, Syed Ali Zahir, Rajendra Prasad (later first President of India). Back row *l.* to *r.* Jagjivan Ram, Patel, Sarat Chandra Bose. *Paul Popper.*

108 THE LAST VICEROY. Lord and Lady Mountbatten with Mahatma Gandhi. *Sport and General.*

ON THE EDGE OF FREEDOM. Hindu and Muslim leaders talk with the viceroy. This meeting took place in June 1947. *Paul Popper.*

109 'VIOLENCE WAS EVERYWHERE.' A trail of destruction in a Punjab town. The number of people who died in what are inadequately called the 'partition riots' has never been, and never will be, fully known. A reasonable figure for the dead would be 600,000. *Keystone.*

110 JAWAHARLAL votes for partition, 15 June, 1947. *P. N. Sharma.*

111 INDEPENDENCE DAY. Lord and Lady Mountbatten with Jawaharlal, New Delhi, 15 August, 1947. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

UNDER THE SHADOW of the Red Fort; Independence Day crowds. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

112 THE TRAGEDY OF PARTITION. A refugee train at Umbala, Punjab. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

THE TRAGEDY OF PARTITION. Hindu refugees in New Delhi. Over 14,000,000 people, Hindu and Muslim, were forced to leave their homes—the Muslims to Pakistan and the Hindus to India. *Keystone.*

113 'THE LIGHT HAS GONE out of our lives.' Gandhi lying in state, 1948. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

114 THE FIRST Indian Governor-General takes office, June 1948. C. R. Rajagopalachari, a south Indian from Madras, was appointed to succeed Lord Mountbatten. He later founded the Swatantra Party as an opposition to Nehru and Congress. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

115 LORD MOUNTBATTEN LEAVES INDIA. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

116 'VOTE CONGRESS, VOTE NEHRU.' An election poster in Bengal. *Pictorial Press.*

PARTY SYMBOLS. In a country where illiteracy is high the political parties use pictures for identification. The yoked oxen stand for the Congress party. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

117 IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, a candidate talks to the electors. *Keystone.*

IN THE TOWN, a candidate addresses a crowd. *Keystone.*

118 NEHRU THE STATESMAN. U.S.S.R., 1955. Nehru acknowledges the cheers of a crowd on his visit to the industrial city of Magnetogorsk. *Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R.*

119 'THIS IS NO TIME FOR SPEECHES.' Nehru inaugurates a Community Development Programme. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

119 VILLAGERS TALKING TO THE PRIME MINISTER. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

120–121 ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1956, the Prime Minister takes the salute in the Red Fort at New Delhi. *Press Information Bureau, Government of India.*

122 NEHRU reaches for a dove that had settled on his shoulder. *P. N. Sharma.*

123 OFF DUTY. The Prime Minister relaxes with his grandchildren. *Michael Peto.*

124 THE COMMONWEALTH Prime Ministers in London in 1957. *Fox Photos.*

125 AT THE UNITED NATIONS, 1960. Nehru has for some time been regarded as the leader of the non-aligned countries and is an immense influence in world politics. *United Nations.*

126 TRADITION. Yoked oxen in the procession that marks the meeting of the All-India Congress. *Pictorial Press.*

127 A MAGNIFICENT EXAMPLE of cooperation; the Durgapur Steelworks built for Hindustan Steel Ltd. by a British consortium of thirteen of the largest engineering firms in the United Kingdom. *Indian Steelworks Construction Co. Ltd.*

128 IN THE SHADOW of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, an immense crowd listens to the Prime Minister. The Victoria Memorial, which dominates the vast open space known as the Maidan in Calcutta, was designed by Sir William Emerson in the Italian Renaissance style with what he described as 'a suggestion of Orientalism in the arrangement of the domes and minor details'. *Associated Press.*

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